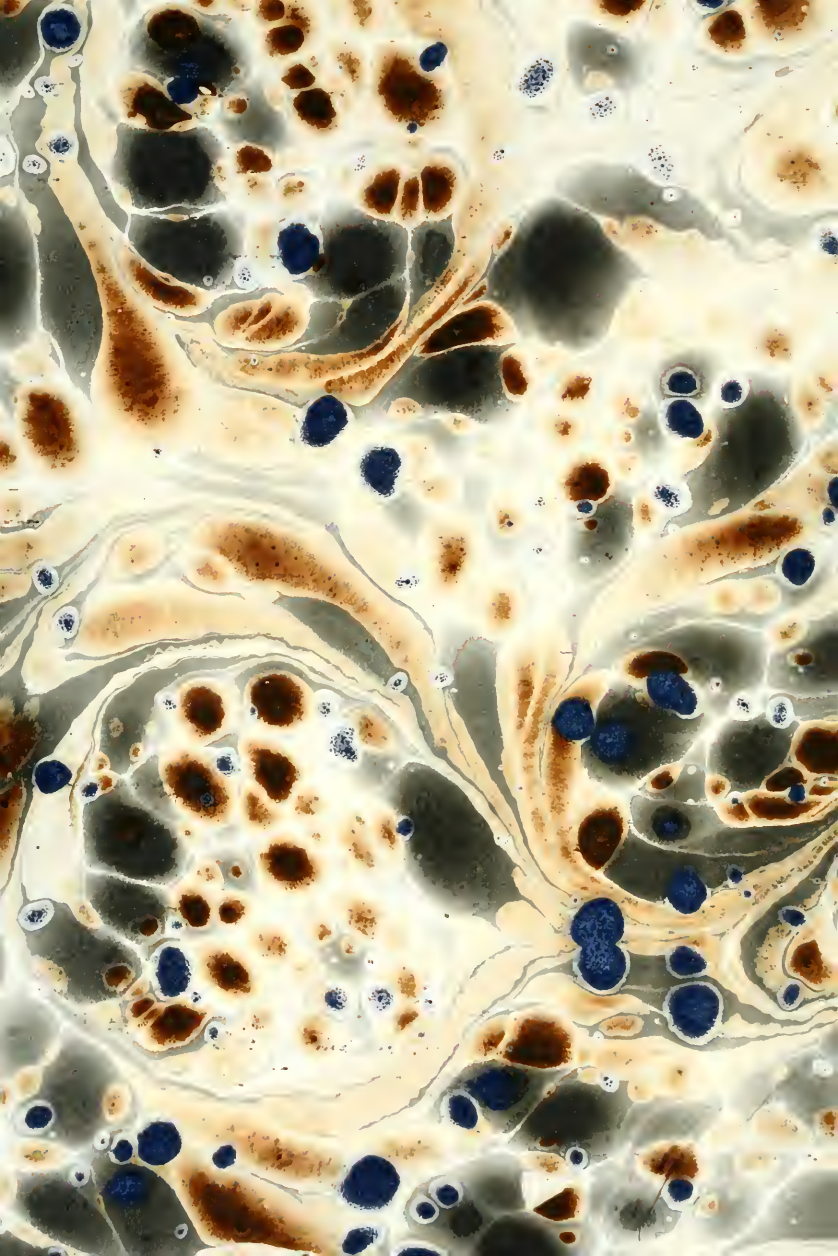

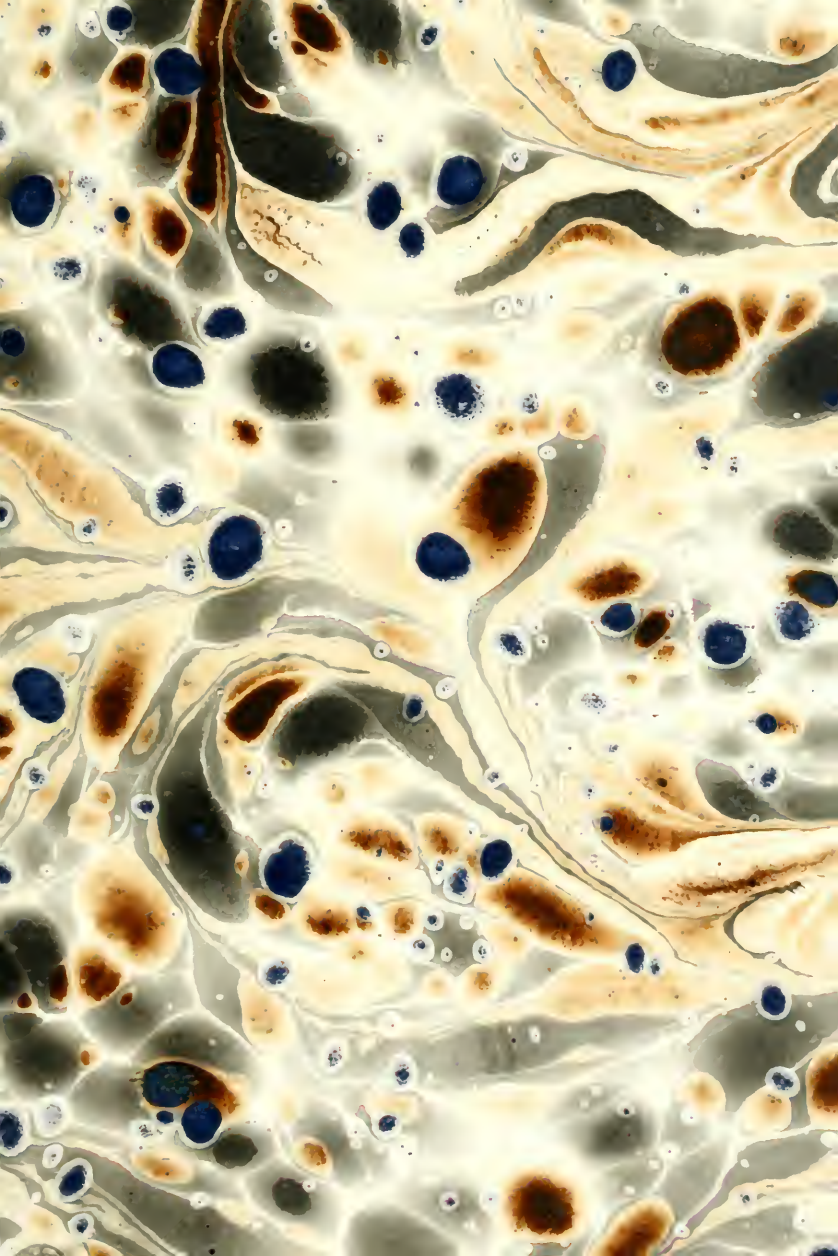

Anburey, Thomas

TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

INTERIOR PARTS

OF

AMERICA;

IN A

SERIES OF LETTERS.

BY AN OFFICER.

Τί ἔν, ἄν τις εἴποι, ταῦτα λέγεις ἡμῖν νυν ;
Ινα γνῶτε, καὶ αἴσθησθε αμφότερα.

DEMOSTH. OLYNTH.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
Printed for WILLIAM LANE, Leadenhall-Street.
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TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

INTERIOR PARTS

OF

AMERICA.

LETTER XLII.

Cambridge, in New England,
Nov. 17, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN military operations, the conqueror is delighted to honor the good conduct and bravery of the defeated, not only by the ſecret approbation of his own heart, which induces him to reſpect a gallant behaviour, even in an enemy, but becauſe his

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ambition is agreeably flattered by the conqueſt of thoſe who had rendered themſelves formidable by their bravery——and no doubt but from theſe motives, General Gates being fully ſenſible of the mortification attending our reverſe of fortune, and not wiſhing to add any circumſtance that might aggravate our preſent calamity, kept his army within their camp during the time we were piling up our arms, that they might not be ſpectators of ſo humiliating a ſcene.

Our ſituation, although unfortunate, is not the firſt inſtance of an army's capitulating, witneſs the convention at Cloſterhauven, which was ſo ſhamefully broke; and if you look farther back into hiſtory, you will find, that exactly a century ago, the army under the Duke of Saxe Eyſenack, which had been conſiderably weakened by the loſſes and fatigues of the campaign, was under the neceſſity of ſurrendering to the

the Marſhal de Crequi, who granted a paſſport, conceived in very humble terms to the Duke of Saxe Eyſenack, allowing him permiſſion to paſs with his army by a particular route, and all the officers, troopers, and common ſoldiers of the French army, were expreſſly forbid to offer the leaſt injury or inſult, either to the Duke or his army, in their return to Germany.

In this latter point General Gates imitated the Marſhal, for after we had piled up our arms and our march was ſettled, as we paſſed the American army, throughout the whole of them I did not obſerve the leaſt diſreſpect, or even a taunting look, but all was mute aſtoniſhment and pity—and it gave us no little pleaſure to find that the antipathy ſo long ſhewn us was conſigned to oblivion, elevated to that treatment which the authorized maxims and practices of war enjoin, civil deportment

to a captured enemy, unſullied with the exulting air of victors.

For want of the advantages of an immediate, exact, and regular communication with the ſouthern army, ill ſucceſs has been the conſequence. The ſad event of our expedition evinces the neceſſity of confiding the plan of war to a General, who might improve every conjuncture by changing diſcretionally the route and ſpecies of the war. If our Commander's orders had been general, and not ſuch abſolute ones as could not be varied from, (of which he made us acquainted on the morning of our ſurrender) he would not have been under the neceſſity of engaging the King's army in any hazardous attempt, as he might have recroſſed the Hudſon's, and changed the war to the defenſive.

People are very apt to draw concluſions from what they think ought to be, and form

form ſyſtems which circumſtances muſt alter. No doubt but it will be generally thought in England, as we had reduced Ticonderoga, and had only twenty-five miles to Albany, the place of our intended deſtination, it was eaſy to accompliſh it, without conſidering the delays and impediments we have met with. This haſty kind of doctrine you muſt often have been witneſs to, from the ſpirited hopes and expectation of our national feelings.

Our melancholy cataſtrophe will be a caution to others in power, in their directions to a General; this expedition appears to have been planned by thoſe, who, ſitting in their cloſets, with a map before them, ridiculouſly expect the movements of an army to keep pace with their rapid ideas, not only directing general operations, but particular movements of a campaign, carried on through a country in interior deſarts, and at a diſtance of three

thouſand miles, without allowing the General who is to conduct that army, to be inveſted with powers for changing the mode of war, as circumſtances may occur.

It was univerſally underſtood throughout the army, that the object of our expedition was to effect a junction with that under General Howe, and by ſuch means become maſters of the Hudſon's river, dividing the northern from the ſouthern provinces. You can eaſily conceive the aſtoniſhment it occaſioned, when we were informed that General Howe's army had gone to Philadelphia, and it was the more increaſed, as we could not form to ourſelves any idea how ſuch a ſtep would facilitate, or effect a junction.

It is natural to ſuppoſe, when two armies are to meet, that the northern one would advance to the ſouthward, and the ſouthern to the northward; or if they are

to

to meet any where about the center between each, that they would ſet out in thoſe directions, much about the ſame time. But it ſhould ſeem that thoſe who have the direction at home of the armies upon this Continent, deſpiſing ſuch ſimple and natural means of effecting a junction, diſpatch the army at New York further ſouth, and ſend the army from Canada in the ſame direction, that if both continued their courſe till doomſday, it would be impoſſible to meet. I am too much afraid thoſe at the head of affairs too implicitly credited every report, and are continually led away by the falſe information of men who are intereſted in the deception, and are profiting by the common calamities of England and America.

The courage, reſolution and patience of the army in enduring the hardſhips of the campaign in general, but more particularly the concluſion of it, muſt fully refute an

invidious charge of foreigners in general, particularly the French, that the Engliſh are unfit for the hardſhips of war, and though brave and intrepid in the field, are not capable of enduring fatigue, without the conveniencies of life.

Throughout the whole campaign, the men had not a morſel of bread, but mixed up their flour into cakes, and baked them upon a ſtone before a fire; very ſeldom ſpirits to cheer them after fatiguing days, in clearing away the woods for encampments, repairing roads, and conſtructing bridges; ſeldom freſh proviſions; ſcanty and miſerable as the allowance to a ſoldier is, it was reduced to half its quantity on the 3d of October. After the action of the 19th of September, the men continually ſlept with their accoutrements on, and after the action on the 7th, never had a tent to ſhelter them from the heavy and almoſt inceſſant rains that fell from that time till

the

the convention, without the refreſhment of ſpirits during this period; and after our arrival at Saratoga, debarred of that very eſſential to the health and convenience of troops, water, although cloſe to a fine rivulet, it being at the hazard of life, in the day time, to get any, from the number of riflemen the enemy had poſted in trees, and at night the men were prevented, as they were ſure to be taken priſoners, if they attempted it. All the water that the army was ſupplied with was from a very muddy ſpring, and what they could get out of the holes the cattle made with their feet; by way of luxury, and to render their proviſions more palateable, when it rained hard, the men uſed to catch it in their caps, to mix with their flour.

Officers in general fared the ſame as the ſoldiers, moſt of them young campaigners, and not ſo provident of their liquors, relying upon a freſh ſupply that was following

the

the army. This was the only time in life I found money of little use: how deceived we are in our opinion, that it constitutes *all* our happiness!—I was not the only one who, when drenching wet and shivering with cold, would have given a guinea for a glass of any spirit.

One day I thought fortune had pointed me out as one of her favorites, for my servant came and informed me he had met with a woman who had half a pint of New England rum to dispose of, but she would not part with it under a guinea. I hastened him back for it, lest any one should offer the woman more, which I was sensible would be the case, if known. I would myself have given treble for half the quantity, being apprehensive of an ague, from being continually in wet cloaths, and exposed day and night to all weathers. You will not accuse me of a churlish disposition, but when I obtained the rum,

necessity,

neceſſity, contrary to inclination, rendered me extremely ſo.

Upon our arrival at Saratoga, three companies of our regiment, one of which was that I belong to, were poſted in a ſmall redoubt, cloſe to the creek; our ſituation was by no means capable of making any great defence, but merely to obſerve if the enemy paſſed the creek in any force: had they attempted it, we were to have kept up a firing during their croſſing, then to have abandoned our ſtation, and joined the main body of the army. This poſt was a ſmall ſquare redoubt, conſtructed with logs breaſt high, and the only ſhelter afforded to the troops was from thoſe angles which faced the enemy, as the others were ſo expoſed, that we had ſeveral men killed and wounded in the redoubt by the riflemen, who were poſted in trees; we could diſcern them every morning at day-break, taking their ſituations upon the moſt lofty

trees

trees they met with, by which means they commanded ſome of the interior parts of the redoubt. Our ſituation was ſuch, that a man riſqued his life if he ventured in the day time to look over the works; and to convince you how ſure theſe men are of hitting their mark, the ſoldiers, out of deriſion, would hoiſt up a cap upon a ſtick over the works, when inſtantly there would be one or two ſhot fired at it, and as many holes through it. I have ſeen a cap that has been perforated with three balls. We certainly could have diſlodged ſuch troubleſome neighbours, or prevented their aſcending the trees, but we had orders not to fire, as it might bring on a ſkirmiſhing attack, whilſt the enemy were meditating another of greater importance.

The men were ſo harraſſed and fatigued with continually ſitting and lying on the ground, all huddled in a ſmall compaſs, that three days before the convention took

place,

place, they complained to the Captain who commanded, that they were not permitted to fire upon the enemy, whereby they could obtain more eaſe, and therefore ought to be relieved, and they received for anſwer, when night came on it ſhould be mentioned to the General. The Captain deſired me to go to head-quarters, and when I arrived there, I found they partook of the hardſhips in common, for the three Generals had juſt laid down on their mattraſſes, having only an oil-ſkin to cover them from the weather; the Aid-de-Camps were ſitting round a fire. I went up to your old acquaintance, Noble, of the 47th regiment, as being known to him, and related the purport of my buſineſs, which he immediately communicated to General Phillips. While he was ſpeaking, I am ſure I ſhall never forget the eagerneſs and anxiety depicted in General Burgoyne's countenance, when he ſtarted from his ſlumber, haſtily enquiring what was the matter. General Phillips informed

him

him it was a trifling buſineſs about relieving a poſt, when he lay down again to refreſh his wearied ſpirits, appearing almoſt exhauſted by a continual ſtate of agitation. After receiving an anſwer that the poſt ſhould be relieved, I returned to the redoubt. The men anxiouſly expected it, but were greatly diſappointed by the appearance of day-break, as knowing no relief could arrive then, and that they had another day's vexation to encounter from theſe rifle-men. It was with the greateſt difficulty the officers could prevent the men from firing at them, and this only with a promiſe that they ſhould have permiſſion, if they were not relieved at night. Perhaps you will ſay, the ſoldiers had reaſon for complaint, for many of them, by being kept in ſuch a confined ſituation, were ſo cramped, that they could ſcarcely walk—— but we were relieved at laſt.

During

During the time I was poſted in this redoubt, Lieutenant Smith, of the artillery, came one evening to ſee me, and upon my relating our diſtreſs as to liquors, deſired me to ſend my ſervant to him the next night, and he would ſend me a caſe bottle of rum. I now thought fortune was heaping favors on me, but to ſhew you what a fickle creature ſhe is, when I ſent my ſervant the next evening, inſtead of returning with the comfort I was promiſing myſelf from ſuch an acquiſition, he brought me a meſſage, that Mr. Smith was extremely ſorry he could not fulfil his promiſe, as a cannon ſhot had, in the courſe of the day, gone through his canteen, and demoliſhed every thing in it.

The day before the convention took place, I was compelled to acquieſce in an action that diſtreſſed my feelings much, in making away with the little colt that my mare had dropped, as my ſervant told me

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it would weaken my mare, that, to uſe the fellow's words, if *ever* we march from this encampment, ſhe will not be able to convey your baggage; at the ſame time adding, from the time we had arrived there ſhe had had nothing to eat, but the dried leaves he could gather up for her; this was the ſituation of the horſes throughout the army. Some ſervants let their horſes ſtray about in the deep ravine, where they were ſtationed to ſhelter them from the cannon ſhot, and ſo ſure, as a poor horſe was allured by the temptation of ſome refreſhing graſs, that grew in the meadows in great abundance, it met with inſtant death from a rifle ſhot. On the plain where we piled up our arms, there were numbers of dead horſes, from the ſtench of which, and from the performance of ſo humiliating an act, you will eaſily imagine our haſte in quitting ſuch a ſpot. I remain,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XLIII.

Cambridge, in New England,
Nov. 19, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

OUR expedition, for you muſt pardon my dwelling on a ſubject ſo near my heart, was certainly undertaken with every proſpect of ſucceſs, not only from the goodneſs of the troops, but the excellence of the Generals. The many difficulties, though in ſome meaſure foreſeen, were not expected to be ſuch as they have too fatally proved themſelves; we had hitherto conſidered them only what perſeverance would overcome. Our progreſs amidſt complicated impediments and innumerable

 diſtreſſes,

diſtreſſes, was really wonderful, and the failure muſt not be conſidered ſo ſurprizing as the perſeverance and ſpirit with which we ſtruggled againſt it.

People who judge impartially, will make a diſtinction between miſconduct and misfortune. It is true the intent of our expedition has failed—General Burgoyne was too deeply intereſted in the national honor, to ſhrink from undertaking what only appeared hazardous—who can blame him, for not executing with an army that always acted like Britons, what was impoſſible.

Throughout the whole campaign, the General has not only been the Commander of the army, but fully demonſtrated he was equally as good a ſoldier; amidſt all the hardſhips and difficulties we had to encounter, the attachment of all ranks to him was unſhaken, and during the inceſſant labors, diſappointments and diſtreſſes

we

we experienced, there was not the leaſt murmur or diſcontent throughout the army; nay, ſo ſtrongly attached were they to his perſon, that when they found patience and courage had been exerted in vain, and all hopes of ſucceſs at an end, they were ready to follow him to the field, and to die with their arms in their hands. No one could exhibit ſtronger proofs of magnanimity, nor take bolder or more deciſive meaſures againſt the enemy, when humiliating terms were propoſed. It ſhould ſeem that he was determined, if fate had decreed the fall and total overthrow of his little army, to periſh nobly, and to leave his name unſullied to future ages.

I am yours, &c.

LETTER XLIV.

Cambridge, in New England,
Nov. 20, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

GENERAL BURGOYNE had not the advantages of profecuting war in this part of America, attendant on Lord Amherſt and General Braddock, for in the laſt the difficulties ariſing from the natural ſtrength of the country, were for the moſt part removed by the friendly diſpoſitions of the inhabitants, who chearfully exerted themſelves to facilitate the movements of the King's army, at the ſame time ſupplying them with every requiſite accommodation; and I am confident, when I aſſert, that

that had not the Generals in the laſt war been furniſhed with theſe reſources, neither of them would have made the rapid progreſs that was accompliſhed.

The progreſs of our army was on the frontiers of the New England provinces, whoſe people are univerſally diſloyal, and furniſh ſuch immenſe bodies of militia, it is really ſurprizing that we advanced ſo far, without any co-operation with the ſouthern army.

If General Howe had his reaſons for not proceeding up the north river, and wiſhed to ſtrike terror into ſome of the provinces, I think there were none he could ſo well have directed that terror againſt, as thoſe of New England; for by a diverſion on the coaſt of Maſſachuſett's, many benefits would have reſulted: it would have kept the New Englanders at home for the internal defence of their own provinces, and

impeded the levies for the continental army. Such a diverſion would have been a co-operation with our army, and no doubt have prevented the misfortunes that have befallen it, the principal part of the army under General Gates being compoſed of the militia of the New England provinces, who muſt have been drawn down to the defence of the cities upon that coaſt, in which caſe our army could not have failed to overcome every poſſible difficulty, and have effected a junction with the detachment that was ſent up the North River, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, from which detachment it certainly was obvious, that the object of the two armies were the ſame, that of forming a junction.

Certainly then it behoved General Howe to ſee ſo large and important a reinforcement as our army would have been to his, in a ſtate of perfect ſecurity at leaſt, before he carried his ſo far to the ſouthward, as

to

to deprive him of the power of ſupport. That our army was to be conſidered as no other than a reinforcement to General Howe's, is evident from the very orders given out by General Carleton, at the opening of the campaign, ſtating, " That " his Majeſty had ordered him to detach " General Burgoyne with certain troops, " who was to proceed with all poſſible ex- " pedition to join General Howe, and put " himſelf under his command;" at the ſame time adding this powerful reaſon, " with a view of quelling the rebellion it " is become highly neceſſary, that the moſt " ſpeedy junction of the two armies ſhould " be effected."

By the junction of the two armies, we ſhould have been in poſſeſſion of the North River, from New-York to Albany, which divides the northern from the ſouthern provinces. General Waſhington would in that caſe have been totally deprived

of the great ſupplies of men and proviſions from the New England States; and the Britiſh army would have been enabled to make excurſions into either provinces, as occaſion might ſerve: the main part of the army might have kept Waſhington at bay, while a few redoubts, with the aſſiſtance of our ſhipping, would have preſerved the entire poſſeſſion of the river.

General Howe's carrying his army far to the ſouthward, confirmed an idea the northern Provinces have imbibed, that after the affair of Bunker's-hill, and the evacuation of Boſton, no Britons will ever land again upon their coaſt; it inſpired them with new hopes, it invigorated their ſpirits, and greatly contributed to increaſe the numbers of General Gates's army, which at the time of the convention amounted to 18,000. Every candid and liberal mind will allow our reſolution during the treaty of the convention was magnanimous,

nanimous, when it is conſidered our army only conſiſted of 3,500 oppoſed to ſuch numbers.

It may be urged, that General Howe's going to the ſouthward was to draw off Waſhington from our army. He was then at Quibble-town, 200 miles diſtant from us when we met the enemy at Still-water, and General Howe's force was at New-York, which was 40 miles nearer, in ſome meaſure ſituated between our army and Waſhington's, therefore he could not move towards us without General Howe's knowledge, nor could Waſhington proceed to Albany by water for want of ſhipping and craft, or march by land in leſs than a fortnight, and that only by a road leading through a gap of a mountain. If General Waſhington had, by any forced and ſecret marches, paſſed this gap, before General Howe had taken poſt in the Jerſeys to prevent it, he had an immenſe fleet

of

of men of war and tranſports, fully ſufficient to have carried his whole army to Albany in a week. It ſtrikes me very forcibly, that General Howe's taking his army round Cape Charles, 350 miles more diſtant from Albany than he was at New York, could by no means contribute to effect a junction; and certainly it cannot be allowed that leading Waſhington from Quibble-town to Philadelphia, could poſſibly be any diverſion of the leaſt importance in favour of our army.

If it had been the intention of General Waſhington to have co-operated with any army that was to oppoſe ours, it does not appear to me how General Howe's going to the Cheſapeak, which is 600 miles diſtant, and leaving Waſhington, who was 200 nearer to us, could poſſibly prevent it. The only apparent means, for no doubt it was the intention of General Howe to draw off General Waſhington's army, and

to

to prevent his acting againſt ours, would have been to have taken poſt between us; it would have been a check upon him, and that detachment that was ſent up the North River would not have met with the many difficulties they encountered during their progreſs, at Montgomery and other forts. Even admitting General Waſhington's army to have been far ſuperior as to numbers, there was nothing to apprehend; it was compoſed of new-raiſed and undiſciplined troops, commanded by officers of little experience, moſtly corps that had been defeated in every action, ſtrangers to victory, and greatly diſpirited——that of General Howe was perfectly diſciplined, commanded by brave and experienced officers, the ſpirits of the men exalted above the effects of fear by their numerous and recent ſucceſſes, for they had carried victory and conqueſt with them wherever they trod.

I will

I will give you the opinion of General Wafhington himfelf, as it was related to me by Major Browne, whom I have been acquainted with fince our arrival at this place, and who was at that time in the General's fuite.

General Wafhington dreaded nothing fo much as General Howe's army going up the North River: he was fenfible of the difficulties his own muft encounter in following it; he knew the eafe and celerity by which the Britifh army would be tranfported by water; his own had to march over mountains, ravines, and ftrong defiles, and the provifions for his army would be all from the diftant fouthern colonies; he knew that it would throw a great damp upon the fpirits of the New England Provinces, efpecially their militia, and in a great meafure prevent their joining Gates's army, and infallibly have faved ours.—— This opinion being firmly fixed in his mind,

mind, when he was informed that General Howe was gone to the Chefapeak, he gave as little credit to the intelligence as we did, when the news of it was brought into our camp before the furrender; he fully difbelieved it, and concluded that fuch a meafure was too abfurd to be poffible, and acted agreeable to the opinion he had formed; for when General Howe's fleet failed from the Hook fouthward, he conceived it to be only a feint, therefore moved his army from Quibble-town to the northward, that he might more conveniently follow the Britifh army up the North River, expecting every day to hear of the General's returning, and failing his army to Albany: nor till he heard that the Britifh fleet was at the Capes of the Delaware, did Wafhington march his army to the fouthward. When he received intelligence that the fleet had ftood out again to fea, ftill fo perfuaded he was that General Howe would not act fo contrary to true policy, as to go

up

up the Chefapeak to Philadelphia, but that his intentions ſtill were to go to the northward, that he marched his army to his northern poſt—not before he was perfectly certain that the Britiſh fleet was near the head of the Elk, did he quit that poſt, and march his army to the ſouthward.—Thus, you ſee, the conduct of General Waſhington entirely coincided with his declared and fixed ſentiments.

That ſome great error has been committed, either unintentional or deſigned, muſt be evident to every one—where to fix it is impoſſible to ſay.—But time, that great diſcloſer of all ſecrets, will no doubt reveal this, and, I hope, redeem the national honor and the national welfare.

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XLV.

Cambridge, in New England,
Nov. 20, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AFTER we had piled up our arms, and our march ſettled, we moved forward, and ſpent the night on the ſpot where we had formerly erected our hoſpitals, of which place I ſent you a drawing.

The next morning I went with another officer to viſit General Fraſer's grave: upon our arrival at the ſpot, we were ſtruck with a contemplative ſilence at the awful ſcene that preſented itſelf, the corpſe having

ing been taken up by the Americans, and the coffin ſcarcely covered over with earth. Upon recovering from our conſternation, we called to ſome ſoldiers, who, with a pick-axe and ſhovel which happened to be in the redoubt, heaped more earth upon the coffin. The Americans had been guilty of great inhumanity in cannonading the corpſe when going for interment, but diſturbing it after burial would have diſgraced a ſavage; the only reaſon they aſſigned was, that we had buried cannon, and not a corpſe—a very improbable ſuppoſition. I rather imagine, and it is the beſt excuſe, that they thought it was our money-cheſt.

As we croſſed the river at Still-Water, we obſerved the army under General Gates marching to Albany, to join Putnam; the object of this junction was to give General Clinton a check, who was moving up the North River; and, to our mortification, we

we learn, that General Vaughan had advanced as far as Æſopus, which place is but a few miles from Albany.—This fully proves what I mentioned in my laſt, that a junction of the ſouthern army with ours was fully intended, and had any certain intelligence of General Vaughan's advancing ſo far, arrived at our camp, we in all probability ſhould not have ſurrendered.

Our army being ſo ſurrounded by the enemy, no certain intelligence could reach the camp; the three confidential ſpies whom the General had ſent, after the action of the 19th of September, to New-York, had not returned; and ſince the convention, we have learnt, that one could get no farther than Albany, where he was obliged to be concealed in a Tory's houſe; another had the misfortune to be detected; and the third was Captain Scott, of our

regiment, who got safe into New-York, and who was returning with General Vaughan's detachment, which, when opportunity offered, he was to have left, and made his way through the woods to our army. I really am persuaded, for want of intelligence that could be relied on, the failure of our expedition was compleated; and the honorable terms which have been granted were complied with so readily, because General Gates foresaw, if we had gained intelligence of any detachment being so near, we should have maintained our ground, in all extremities, notwithstanding his superiority of numbers.

In crossing the river, I had nearly lost my baggage, and those in the *batteaux* had a very narrow escape; about the center a horse proving very unruly, jumped over, and his hind legs hung upon the side of the *batteaux*, and very near overset it.

After we had croſſed, we purchaſed ſome liquors and freſh proviſions of the inhabitants; this purchaſe convinced us of the intrinſic value of the precious ore, as the Americans received our guineas with much cordiality, and gave us paper dollars in lieu, at the rate of nine for a guinea. Here I ſhould obſerve to you, that the real value of a guinea is four dollars and two-thirds of a dollar, therefore, by this exchange, we got nearly double, which ſhews how conſiderable the diſtinction ſtill is, notwithſtanding their great veneration for Independency and Congreſs, between gold and paper.

In this inſtance we were taught a leſſon, that things, however trifling of themſelves, are ſometimes of moment; had we taken a view of the reverſe of our ſituation at Ticonderoga, we ſhould not have ſo greatly deſpiſed and converted to all manner of uſes, the many reams of paper

dollars that were taken at that place.—Myſelf, among many other young ſoldiers, experienced the laugh of the old veterans, who had carefully ſaved ſeveral quires, in caſe of any reverſe of fortune, and were procuring all manner of comforts for nothing, while we were parting with our guineas.

I am ſorry to obſerve, the reciprocal eſteem that had exiſted among all ranks of officers, and the ſolace and comfort they afforded each other, during our trying ſituation at Saratoga, ſeemed now to be done away; ſome were ſo inattentive to the dignity of their character, as to contend for the *devoirs* attendant on ſuperior rank, in a ſtate of adverſity, which, if it does not level all diſtinction, ſhould at leaſt have ſoftened the *hauteur* of command. Conteſt ſhould have lain dormant, and emulation been confined to evincing the politeneſs of the real gentleman, in a

ſituation

ſituation where acts of humanity and friendſhip ought conſtantly to have conſpired to inſure the moſt perfect harmony.

As you admire frank converſation, I indulged a ſhort vein of reflection on the falſe delicacy of aſpiring too much; but we did not embarraſs our own feelings in dwelling on that illiberal conduct, of which the officers concerned were ſo quickly aſhamed, and for which, by the decency and decorum of their future behaviour, they made ample amends, as it would therefore have been ungenerous to harbour, we unanimouſly ſuppreſſed every idea of reſentment.

An officer, during our march, had ſlipped away, unperceived, from the main body, too ſenſible of the coyneſs of that blind goddeſs, Fortune, he only requeſted her ladyſhip's aid to favour an innocent fraud; ſhe ſmiled propitious; for having

gone on before, and firſt reached a ſmall village, he perſonated General Burgoyne, and with ſuch an air of confidence, and conſequence too, that in ſpite of the inquiſitive temper of the Americans (particularly the peaſants of New-England) their ſcruples were entirely ſatisfied, and being compleatly outwitted, they aſſigned him the beſt quarters. Upon our arrival at the place, after complimenting him with his ingenious device to obtain preferment, he relinquiſhed his new dignity with a good grace, and received us dropping wet, after an uncomfortable march, with much hoſpitality.

We were two days in croſſing the Green Mountains, which are a part of the chain of mountains that run through the whole Continent of America, more commonly known by the name of the Allegany Mountains: the roads acroſs them were almoſt impaſſable, and to add to the difficulty,

when

when we had got half over, there came on a very heavy fall of ſnow. After this, it is impoſſible to deſcribe the confuſion that enſued; carts breaking down, others ſticking faſt, ſome overſetting, horſes tumbling with their loads of baggage, men curſing, women ſhrieking, and children ſqualling! It ſhould ſeem that I was to encounter every unpleaſant duty that can fall to the lot of an officer, for this very day I had the baggage guard; excluſive of being covered with ſnow, and riding about after the bat-men, to keep them together, and to aſſiſt each other, my attention was directed to a ſcene, which I did not think it poſſible human nature could have ſupported, for in the midſt of the heavy ſnow-ſtorm, upon a baggage-cart, and nothing to ſhelter her from the inclemency of the weather but a bit of an old oil-cloth, a ſoldier's wife was delivered of a child, ſhe and the infant are both well, and are now at this

place. It may be ſaid, that women who follow a camp are of ſuch a maſculine nature, they are able to bear all hardſhips; this woman was quite the reverſe, being ſmall, and of a very delicate conſtitution.

After we had paſſed the mountains, the firſt townſhip we came to was Williamſtown, where we ſoon found how choice we ought to be of our gold, as the farther we proceeded, we found it of greater value, the inhabitants enquiring if we wanted any paper money, and out-bidding each other; at this place we got eighteen and twenty for a guinea. It was rather remarkable, though they depreciated their Congreſs money in one way, they would not in another, for we never could get them to take our hard money for any article, making an allowance for the difference of exchange.

The

The night before we came to this town, being quartered at a ſmall log-hut, I was convinced in how innocent a view the Americans look upon that indelicate cuſtom they call *bundling*: though they have remarkable good feather beds, and are extremely neat and clean, ſtill I preferred my hard mattraſs, as being accuſtomed to it; this evening, however, owing to the badneſs of the roads, and the weakneſs of my mare, my ſervant had not arrived with my baggage, at the time for retiring to reſt; there being only two beds in the houſe, I enquired which I was to ſleep in, when the old woman replied, "Mr. Enſign," here I ſhould obſerve to you, that the New England people are very inquiſitive as to the rank you have in the army; "Mr. Enſign," ſays ſhe, "Our Jonathan and I will ſleep "in this, and our Jemima and you ſhall "ſleep in that." I was much aſtoniſhed at ſuch a propoſal, and offered to ſit up

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all night, when Jonathan immediately replied, "Oh, la! Mr. Enſign, you won't "be the firſt man our Jemima has bundled "with, will it, Jemima?" when little Jemima, who, by the bye, was a very pretty black-eyed girl, of about 16, or 17, archly replied, "No, Father, by many, "but it will be with the firſt Britainer," (the name they give to Engliſhmen.) In this dilemma, what could I do?——the ſmiling invitation of pretty Jemima—the eye, the lip, the——Lord ha' mercy, where am I going to?—but wherever I may be going to now, I did not go to bundle with her—in the ſame room with her father and mother, my kind *hoſt* and *hoſteſs* too!——I thought of that—I thought of more beſides—to ſtruggle with the paſſions of nature; to claſp Jemima in my arms—to—do what? you'll aſk—why, to do—nothing! for if amid all theſe temptations, the lovely Jemima had melted into kindneſs, ſhe had been an outcaſt from the world—treated with

with contempt, abuſed by violence, and left perhaps to periſh!——No, Jemima; I could have endured all this to have been bleſſed with you, but it was too vaſt a ſacrifice, when you was to be victim!—— Suppoſe how great the teſt of virtue muſt be, or how cold the American conſtitution, when this unaccountable cuſtom is in hoſpitable repute, and perpetual practice.

We every morning look from our barracks to the mouth of Boſton harbour, hoping to catch a look of the fleet of tranſports that is to convey us to England, to which place I now turn all my thoughts, and in expectation of ſoon enjoying your friendſhip perſonally, I remain,

Yours, &c.

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LETTER XLVI.

Cambridge, in New England,
Nov. 25, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

ON our march to this place, we were fully convinced what powerful levies the New England ſtates are capable of furniſhing; for excluſive of thoſe that had joined Gates, and were marched to the ſouthward, every town we paſſed through was raiſing two or three companies, to join General Waſhington's army.

The wants and miſeries of the inhabitants in general are inconceivable, even to

to the conveniences of life, yet you would be ſurprized with what chearfulneſs they bend to them, to obtain that idol, *Independency*. In many poor habitations they have parted with one of their blankets, where they had only two, to ſupply their ſoldiers, and although the interior part of theſe ſtates have not been the ſeat of war, yet the diſtreſſes of the inhabitants are equally as great as if it had.

They have in this province, among many other military inſtitutions, one of a ſingular nature, that of minute-men, ſo named, as they are in conſtant readineſs at the firſt ſummons of their officers, to march at a minute's warning; they are compoſed of the moſt active and expert of the militia, and as an encouragement to hold themſelves always prepared to march, they are promiſed never to go out of the province, but only to oppoſe any enemy that appears either upon their coaſt

or

or frontiers. Theſe ſtates can, in the courſe of a few days, form an army of ſome thouſands; their conduct in aſſembling at the ſkirmiſh at Lexington and Concord, and annoying the King's troops in their return to Boſton, fully juſtifies their appellation.

If the other provinces enter as heartily into the cauſe of rebellion, I am afraid we ſhall find it a very difficult taſk to ſubdue them; for, excluſive of all the various modes of furniſhing men and ſupplies, it is in theſe provinces, in ſome meaſure, become a religious cauſe, in which the people being enthuſiaſts, their clergy artfully increaſe a warlike ſpirit among their flock.

One of them, in my hearing, firmly aſſerted, that rewards were prepared in Heaven for thoſe who fell in the preſent conteſt, endeavoring to impreſs them with

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an idea of the real neceſſity of the war, as the defence of religious liberty: this was a moſt precious and prevailing argument to delude the ignorant; he inſinuated that the Roman Catholic religion was to be introduced, artfully mentioned the Quebec act, and after pretending that he had been viſited by the Supreme Being in viſions, aſſured them thoſe only would be accepted in Heaven, who ſhould ſeal their lives in ſo righteous a cauſe with their blood.

Similar doctrine is doubtleſs made uſe of by their clergy in general. Stratagems, under the diſguiſed veil of ſanctity and religion, are conſtantly formed to encreaſe our mutual animoſities, for men buoyed up with ſuch aſſurances of Heaven, will fight to deſperation. In all religious conteſts, we find an unexampled bravery that no dangers diſconcert, and a firm conſtancy that no force can withſtand.

In

In our way hither we paſſed through a ſmall neat town, called Worceſter, where I met accidentally with one of the *Committee-men*, who was upon the examination of a poor fellow, ſent from our army to General Clinton, and who very imprudently ſwallowed the ſilver egg that contained the meſſage to the General, in the preſence of thoſe who took him priſoner: after tormenting the poor fellow with emetics and purgatives till he diſcharged it, they immediately hung him up. The egg was opened, and the paper taken out, on which was written, "*Nous y voici*, here we are, nothing between us but Gates." The *Committee-men* ſtared at each other, obſerving, it contained no intelligence that could be of ſervice; one of them, however, reflected, that *nous y voici* was French, and *that* might contain a good deal. None of them underſtanding a word of that language, they ſent to the jail for a poor Canadian, who was a priſoner, to tranſlate it for

for them: he informed them it meant *here we are*, but as that was in Engliſh, they would not credit it. At laſt one very ſagaciouſly obſerved, that it certainly was ſome private mark, or correſpondence between the two Generals, and as none of them had much military knowledge, it was thought proper to ſend it to General Waſhington, who certainly would underſtand it better.

As we paſſed from this town, at a ſmall village there were aſſembled a great concourſe of people to ſee us march, who were very curious, ſome lifting up their hands and praying to Heaven, ſome admiring the ſoldiers, others looking with aſtoniſhment; but among the croud ſtood foremoſt an old woman, who appeared to be near an hundred, upon whom your old friend, Lieutenant M'Neil, of the 9th regiment, thought to be a little witty, in which, however, he was fairly worſted:

as this old woman attracted the notice of every one, when he passed, he said to her, "*So, you old fool, you must come and see* "*the lions*;" but with great archness she replied, "*Lions! lions! I declare now I* "*think you look more like lambs!*"

The lower class of these Yankees—— a propos, it may not be amiss here just to observe to you the etymology of this term: it is derived from a Cherokee word, *eankke*, which signifies coward and slave. This epithet of yankee was bestowed upon the inhabitants of New England by the Virginians, for not assisting them in a war with the Cherokees, and they have always been held in derision by it. But the name has been more prevalent since the commencement of hostilities; the soldiery at Boston used it as a term of reproach; but after the affair of Bunker's Hill, the Americans gloried in it. *Yankey-doodle*, is now their pœan, a favorite of favorites, played

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in their army, eſteemed as warlike as the Grenadier's March—it is the lover's ſpell, the nurſe's lullaby. After our rapid ſucceſſes, we held the Yankees in great contempt; but it was not a little mortifying to hear them play this tune, when their army marched down to our ſurrender.

The lower claſs of the New Englanders are impertinently curious and inquiſitive; at a houſe where Lord Napier was quartered, with other officers, a number of the inhabitants flocked to ſee a Lord, imagining he muſt be ſomething more than man: they were continually looking in at the window, and peeping at the room door; ſaying, I wonder which is the Lord! at laſt four women, intimate friends of the landlord, got into the room, when one of them with a twang, peculiar to the New Englanders ſaid, "I hear you "have got a Lord among you, pray now "which may he be?" When his Lord-

ſhip, who, by the bye, was all over mire, and ſcarcely dry from the heavy rain that had fallen during the day's march, whiſpered your friend Kemmis, of the 9th regiment, whoſe turn for wit and jocularity you are well acquainted with, to have a little mirth with them. He accordingly got up, and pointing to his Lordſhip, in a voice and manner as if he was Herald at Arms, informed them, that "that was "the Right Hon. Fancis Lord Napier, of "&c. &c. &c." going through all his Lordſhip's titles, with a whole catalogue of additions: after he had finiſhed, the women looked very attentively at his Lordſhip, and whilſt he and the other officers were laughing at the adroitneſs of Kemmis, the women got up, and one of them lifting up her hands and eyes to Heaven, with great aſtoniſhment, exclaimed, "Well, "for my part, if that be a Lord, I never "deſire to ſee any other Lord but the

"Lord

" Lord Jehovah," and inſtantly left the room.

We were eſcorted on our march by the brigade of a *General Brickett*; he was very civil, and often uſed to ride by the ſide of the officers, to converſe with them. One day, as he was jogging along with our friend *Sone*, he complained to the General, that he was very uncomfortable in ſuch wet weather and bad roads, for want of a pair of boots, and that thoſe he had, with all his baggage, were taken in a *batteaux*; when the General ſaid, he would ſell him thoſe he had on. Sone was rather ſurpriſed at the offer of the Brigadier General, and aſked him how many paper dollars he would take; the General told him he would only part with them for gold; when *Sone* offered him a guinea for them; the General inſtantly got off his horſe, and after he had taken

a pair of ſhoes out of his ſaddle-bags, was proceeding to pull off his boots; *Sone* told him there was no ſuch hurry, it would do when they arrived at the end of the day's march: He replied, he ſhould not be long in pulling them off, and he had got a pair of country boots to put on, which are pieces of cloth folded round the leg, and tied at the knee and ancle.—Upon being requeſted to defer it till we got into quarters, he mounted his horſe, rode forwards, and on our halt diligently ſearched out for *Sone*, when he compleated his bargain, and parted with his boots. So much for an *American Brigadier-General!*

Notwithſtanding they are diſpleaſed with our Government, they are not ſo with our guineas, and although they are fighting for independency, they place very little dependence upon paper-money; for however

however martial they are at preſent, ſtill they have an eye to traffic and merchandize; what a weak ſtate the Congreſs muſt be in, when thoſe who are fighting for its ſupport are depreciating its credit. I am confident that the majority of the Americans are ignorant as to the cauſe of the conteſt, and what aroſe from the factious views of a few deſigning men, expreſſing a diſpleaſure to our Government, is now converted into rancor and national hatred. If I might be allowed to give my political opinion, there appears to me nothing ſo clear, as that the true intereſt of America is to live in perfect harmony with Great-Britain, for it is evident to the obſervation of every one, that the colonies reaped great advantages when the union ſubſiſted; they have ſeverely felt, and at this moment continue to feel, the bad effects of being at variance.

That they may be ſubdued, and an union formed upon the moſt permanent baſis, for the intereſt of both countries, will, I think, coincide with your ſentiments, as it does with thoſe of

Your's, &c.

LET-

LETTER XLVII.

Cambridge, in New England,
Nov. 30th 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE laſt town we left, before our arrival at this place, was Weſtown, where we found the moſt convenient inn of any on the road, it is equal to moſt in England, the rooms commodious, proviſions good, and ſervants attentive; above all, the landlord is a friend to our Government, and like all of that deſcription, has been much perſecuted. He was not without his apprehenſions of being ſent to priſon for attentions ſhewn to the officers who

who ſtopped at his houſe, which was nothing more than the common civility he ſhewed to all his gueſts: in ſhort, he was deemed by the Americans a rank Tory.

The ſpirit of Whig and Tory is as predominant in America, as it was in England ſome years back; perhaps you may not have troubled yourſelf as to the *unde derivatur* of theſe two words, you will therefore pardon my explaining them: *Tory*, originally, was a name given to the wild Iriſh robbers, who favored the maſſacre of the Iriſh Proteſtants, in 1641; it was afterwards applied to all enormous high-fliers of the Church. *Whig* was a ludicrous name, firſt allotted to the country-field devotion-meeting, whoſe ordinary drink was whig, or whey of coagulated ſour milk: it was afterwards applied to thoſe who were againſt the Court intereſt, in the reigns of Charles II. and James II.

and

and for the Court, in the reigns of King William and King George; the Americans apply them quite the reverſe.

Our march from Weſtown to this place was the moſt unpleaſant of any, as it rained inceſſantly, and we reached the barracks on Proſpect Hill very late in the evening, which were unfortunately in the worſt condition imaginable for the reception of troops, being ſo much out of repair, that we ſuffered ſeverely from the inclemency of the weather; the barracks were, in fact, bare of every thing; no wood, and a prodigious ſcarcity of fuel, inſomuch, that we were obliged to cut down the rafters of our room to dry ourſelves.

The method of quartering was dreadfully inconvenient, ſix officers in a room not twelve feet ſquare, permiſſion was denied us to accommodate ourſelves with

rooms in this town, till General Burgoyne arrived, and repreſented our ſituation to the Council at Boſton, when it was reluctantly granted. We laboured under many diſtreſſes and difficulties; every ſpecies of proviſions was very dear, and to add to our misfortune, could hardly be procured for money. You do not, I believe, in England, rank milk in the catalogue of luxuries, yet we were obliged, *ourſelves*, to traverſe a deep ſnow for a full mile, to get a ſmall quantity for our breakfaſts, as our ſervants were not permitted to paſs the centinels

It was underſtood at the convention, that the troops were to be ſtationed on Proſpect and Winter Hills, and the officers were to be quartered in Boſton, and the neighbouring towns. On this ſuppoſition ſome of the officers had puſhed forward and got into Boſton, but were immediately ordered out.

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At preſent, the army is diſpoſed of in the following manner: the Engliſh troops upon Proſpect Hill, and the German upon Winter Hill; the officers have the towns of Cambridge, Myſtic, and Watertown, to quarter themſelves, and a parole of about ten miles in circumference; but to preſerve order and regularity among the troops, three officers of each regiment conſtantly reſide in the barracks.

It is no little mortification that I cannot viſit Boſton, for it is the ſecond city in America, and the grand *emporium of rebellion*; but our parole excludes us from it: what makes the mortification ſtill greater is, that we can go as far as the ferry at Charles-town, and are debarred croſſing it.

By an officer who has joined the army from Albany, I am informed, that Lady Harriet Ackland, after ſhe quitted our army,

army, experienced great difficulties before she arrived at that city, the night being far advanced before the boat reached the enemy's out-posts, and the centinel would not let it pass, nor even come on shore, notwithstanding the Chaplain that accompanied her offered the flag of truce, and represented the state of her Ladyship. The guard, from apprehensions of treachery, and punctilious to orders, threatened to fire into the boat if it stirred before day-light. What must have been her anxiety and sufferings, when protracted for seven or eight hours, without covering to shelter from the inclemency of the night air, and uncertain what her husband's situation might be, her reflexions during the long, dark, cold hours, could not impress her with any favorable sentiments of the treatment she was to expect, from this first reception. When day-light appeared they were suffered to land, and conducted to General Gates, who, with

that

that humanity for which he is ſo conſpicuous, received and accommodated her with that reſpect and attention her rank and merit deſerved.

When you trace her through the various trying ſcenes ſince her arrival in America, ſhe ſtands forth an example of female excellence——an example of patience, ſuffering and fortitude, exhibiting an intereſting picture of that ſpirit of enterprize and diſtreſs, you meet with in romance, realized, and conducted upon that diſcipline of duty and chaſteneſs of principle, which ſhould ever be attendant on connubial love. How little the female frame can be capable of ſupporting, delicate to a degree as hers is, ſuch extreme diſtreſs! yet ſhe ſoared above it, and forgot the weakneſs of the woman in the fondneſs of the wife.

We have had ſeveral diſputes with the Committee-men, relative to travelling on a Sunday,

Sunday, in time of ſervice; ſome officers have been taken up and confined, which has occaſioned the General's interference. We are now permitted to aſſemble at the barracks, and attend religious duties. The ſelect men wiſhed to be as rigid with us as with the inhabitants, any of whom that are ſeen in the ſtreets, during divine ſervice, are compelled to go to ſome place of worſhip. Whoever ſhall be caught carrying a bundle is committed to priſon, for the ſpirit of puritaniſm is as prevalent now in theſe ſtates, as it was on their firſt ſettlement.

The eſtabliſhed religion here, as in all the other provinces of New-England, is that of the Congregationaliſts, a religion different only in ſome trifling articles to that of the Preſbyterians; there were great numbers of other perſuaſions, particularly of the Church of England, and at this place there is a church erected within ſight

of

of Havard College, the ſeminary of theſe Congregationaliſts; this gave them much offence, as they conſidered it a fatal ſtroke levelled at their religion. Upon this account, before hoſtilities commenced, they perſecuted the miniſter, who was the Rev. Dr. Apthorpe, now Rector of Croydon, obliged him to reſign his cure and quit the colony; but ſince the war, not only this church, but every one over the province is ſhut up, nor will the inhabitants ſuffer any other religion but the Congregationaliſts; they were happy to ſeize the opportunity of ſuppreſſing the church of England, as it was gaining ground very faſt, and therefore objected to it on the ground of praying for the King and Royal Family. Some miniſters offered to omit that part, but toleration is no part of their creed, and they were happy to ſeize ſo favourable an occaſion to cruſh it.

Before the commencement of the war, Arts and Sciences were making great progreſs in theſe ſtates. In this town there is erected an Univerſity, the firſt ever raiſed in America; it is a neat brick building, containing three halls for the claſſes, a room for natural curioſities, another for inſtruments of aſtronomy and mathematics, and a gallery where formerly was a very valuable library, but when this place was the head quarters of General Waſhington, the library, as well as the inſtruments and other articles were removed, in which many were loſt and more damaged; thoſe that remain of the handſome collection are very few; adjoining to the college is a neat chapel.

The Preſident of this Univerſity is a Mr. Willard, and there are only a ſmall number of ſtudents at preſent, not exceeding twenty, the youth of America ſtudying tactics in preference to the more enlighten-

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ing ſciences. This Univerſity has been founded near an hundred years, and altho' it is not on a perfect plan, has produced a number of men of genius. It was much encouraged in its infancy, by many perſons at home, particularly a Mr. Hollis, who founded the profeſſorſhip for the mathematics and natural philoſophy, and many other benefactions, nearly to the amount of 5000l. Neither the profeſſors or ſtudents reſide in the Univerſity; the former live in their own houſes, and the latter board in the town.

The town of Cambridge is about ſix miles from Boſton, and was the country reſidence of the gentry of that city; there are a number of fine houſes in it going to decay, belonging to the Loyaliſts. The town muſt have been extremely pleaſant, but its beauty is much defaced, being now only an arſenal for military ſtores, and you may ſuppoſe it is no agreeable circumſtance,

every time we walk out, to be reminded of our ſituation, in beholding the artillery and ammunition waggons that were taken with our army.

The character of the inhabitants of this province is improved beyond the deſcription that our uncle B— gave us of them, when he quitted this country, thirty years ago, but Puritaniſm and a ſpirit of perſecution are not yet totally extinguiſhed. The gentry of both ſexes are hoſpitable and good-natured, with an air of civility in their behaviour, but conſtrained by formality and preciſeneſs; even the women, though eaſineſs of carriage is peculiarly characteriſtic to their nature, appear here with much ſtiffneſs and reſerve: they are formed by ſymmetry, handſome, and have delicate complexions; the men are tall, thin, and generally long-viſaged; both ſexes have univerſally, and even proverbially, bad teeth, which muſt probably be

be occaſioned by their eating ſo much molaſſes, making uſe of it at all meals, and even eating it with greaſy pork.

Converſing one day with a Virginia officer relative to the curioſity of the New Englanders, he told me, that finding he never could procure any refreſhment for himſelf or horſe, till after he anſwered all their queſtions, and they had compared them with their information, he adopted the following mode to avoid their inquiſitive delays: Whenever he travelled from his own province to Boſton, and alighted at an ordinary, (the name given to inns in America, and ſome juſtly merit that title) the maſter or miſtreſs, and other company in the houſe aſſembled at the door, and he began in this manner,— "Worthy people, I am Mr. ***, of Vir- "ginia, by trade a tobacco-planter, and a "bachelor, have ſome friends at Boſton, "whom I am going to viſit, my ſtay will be

" ſhort, when I ſhall return and follow my " buſineſs, as a prudent man ought to do. " This is all I know of myſelf, and all I " can poſſibly inform you. I have no " news; and now, having told you every " thing, have compaſſion upon me and my " horſe, and give us ſome refreſhment."

Intelligence being brought me that ſome ſhips are ſeen in the offing of Boſton harbour, I am haſtening to Proſpect-hill, to ſee if they are thoſe that will be the means of conveying me to the ſight of my worthy friend, and that they may be is the wiſh of

Yours, &c.

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LETTER XLVIII.

Cambridge, in New England,
Dec. 9, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

DEPRIVED of the privilege to viſit Boſton, ſtill from the view that we have of it from our barracks on Proſpect Hill, I am enabled to give you a deſcription of its ſituation; for its interior parts, police and government, you muſt be referred to thoſe authors who have deſcribed them.

Boſton is ſituated on a peninſula of about four miles in length, at the bottom

of the bay of Maſſachuſett's, which reaches eight or ten miles within land; the opening of the bay appears to be ſheltered from the impetuoſity of the waves, by a number of rocks, which appear above water, and by ſeveral iſlands, moſt of which are inhabited, whoſe ſituation is ſuch, that they will not admit of more than three or four ſhips to enter at the ſame time.

Nature herſelf too ſeems to have provided for the ſafety of the city, for upon this narrow channel there is an iſland, that, when fortified, no ſhip can paſs it: this important poſt was entirely neglected till the end of the laſt century, when a regular citadel, named Fort William, was erected on it, defended by a hundred pieces of cannon, of the largeſt ſize and extremely well placed. When our troops evacuated Boſton, they demoliſhed the fortifications, which rendered the city liable to an attack by ſea, therefore the principal

principal object of the New Englanders was to put Boſton and this iſland in ſuch a ſtate of defence, as to prevent its falling again into our poſſeſſion; and ſo indefatigable were they in this buſineſs, that every able-bodied citizen allotted two days in a week, the more ſpeedily to conclude it, as they were not without their apprehenſions, that when the fleet and army were reinforced they would return; what impreſſed them ſo ſtrongly with this idea was the demolition of the works.

About a league from this iſland, near the mouth of the harbour, there is a high light houſe, the ſignals from which are perceiveable at Boſton, where there are beacons, as well as upon moſt of the heights along the coaſt, to ſpread the alarm to the inland countries of an enemy's approach. Except when a very thick fog prevails, at which time ſome ſhips might ſlip in amongſt the iſlands, the

town

town has always five or six hours to prepare for the reception of an enemy; and in the space of four-and-twenty hours, they can raise several thousands of militia. If ever a fleet of ours should be able to pass Fort William, it would be effectually stopt by the strong batteries the Americans have raised, both to the north and south of the town, which command the bay entirely; the harbour appears so spacious, that it will admit of six or seven hundred vessels anchoring safely and commodiously. I am informed, on that side of the city that faces the harbour, there is a very magnificent pier which extends so far into the sea, as to admit of ships unloading their cargoes, without the assistance of small craft, from whence they are deposited in warehouses, ranged along this pier.

Opposite to the northern part of the peninsula on which Boston stands, are the remains

remains of Charles-town, which had the ſame connection with Boſton as the Borough has with the city of London; the river that divides the two is not much wider than the Thames, and it appears rather ſingular, that the inhabitants never erected a bridge, as it would have greatly contributed to the proſperity of both, eſpecially as it was the direct entrance from the inland towns into Boſton. Unleſs you croſs the ferry, you have to make a circuit of ſeveral miles, over ſwamps and moraſſes, from this place to Boſton, which is only two miles in a direct line; no doubt, as the Americans are become ſo expert in making bridges acroſs rivers of greater width than this, they will, when the conteſt is ended, erect one; for what was formerly either through indolence or individual concerns conſidered as impoſſibilities and arduous undertakings, will now be thought matters eaſily accompliſhed.

Near

Near to the remains of Charles-town is that famous ſpot where ſo much blood was ſpilt, and ſo many brave men ſlain, *Bunker's Hill*, which will ever be a memento to Britiſh Commanders, againſt attacking works with ſuch temerity, without a ſufficient information as to their conſtruction, and holding an enemy in too great contempt; but in this inſtance it was in ſome meaſure unavoidable, for had the Americans ſecured that poſt, Boſton would have been untenable, as it is a high ground that overlooks and commands the whole town, the only error that appears to have been committed, was at firſt not endeavouring to turn their flank (which proved the means of driving them from their works) inſtead of attacking them in the front. The only motive that could lead to the mode of attack that was adopted, muſt have been upon a ſuppoſition that it was impoſſible, in ſuch a ſmall ſpace of time, to erect

any

any works, but what might eaſily be demoliſhed by the artillery, and carried by ſtorm: Certainly our troops were much annoyed by the Americans from Charlestown; and if it had not been for the General's unwillingneſs to deſtroy it, the enemy might eaſily have been diſlodged, in which caſe, the weakneſs of their flank would have been diſcovered, and ſo many lives would not have been loſt in attacking them; their induſtry, diligence and ſilence in conſtructing the works, which conſiſted of a ſmall redoubt and ſtrong intrenchment, reaching near half a mile down to the river Myſtic, is incredible. I cannot conceive how the importance of this poſt ſhould eſcape the vigilance of our Generals, as the ſafety of Boſton depended entirely on our having poſſeſſion of it.

The beſt deſcription that I can poſſibly give you as to the engagement, is what I gathered

gathered from Captain Drew, whom I met with at Cork, who, in that action, was wounded in ſeveral parts of the body; and, notwithſtanding ſcarcely recovered from his wounds, was going out to join his regiment. He acknowledged himſelf to have never been witneſs to ſuch a ſcene of carnage and ſlaughter; and, in addition to the inceſſant roar of cannon, diſcharge of muſquetry, and the groans of the wounded and dying, there were great exploſions from the burning of the town, from which aſcended a large column of black ſmoke; in ſhort, it was ſuch a ſcene as cannot be deſcribed, nor can any one form the leaſt idea of it, but thoſe who were preſent. What muſt have been the feelings of the Generals and troops in Boſton, who were ſpectators of this dreadful carnage, without participating? The behaviour of the Britiſh troops, was truly characteriſtic of that valour and intrepidity that is allowed by all nations. But the

reception

reception they met with from theſe entrenchments, and the execution, which was terrible, was ſufficient to ſtagger the braveſt troops;—for full half an hour, the fire poured down upon them like a ſtream; many old veterans declared, that, for the time it laſted, it was the hotteſt and moſt bloody engagement they ever remembered.

We are anxiouſly expecting the veſſels, as our ſituation is not only very unpleaſant but dangerous, both to officers and ſoldiers; the latter of whom are in contiual broils with the American guards, which are compoſed of militia, who not being under very great diſcipline, not only infringe their orders, which perhaps they do not comprehend, or elſe uſe their authority as they think proper; they have received orders not to let any officer paſs without his ſide arms, and as many of them left their baggage in Canada, others loſt them with

with their baggage, during the campaign, this ignorant people will not let any one paſs without a ſword, drawling out, "I "ſwear now you ſhan't paſs, becauſe you "have not got a ſword;" at the ſame time, ſtupid fools, they might perceive by our cloaths and bayonets that we were officers. Much altercation has enſued, to remedy which, the officers had paſſports ſigned by General Heath; but this did not avail, as very few of the centinels could read. At laſt it was ordered, that any officer who wanted to paſs the centinels, was to go to the American guard, where the officer ſhould ſend a ſoldier to paſs him; this did not altogether remedy the evil, as many of the officers could not make out the paſſport.

When I deſcribe to you the troops, you will not ſo much wonder at theſe embarraſſments, In marching the party to relief, you will ſee an old man of ſixty, and a boy

boy of ſixteen; a black and an old decrepit man, limping by his ſide; moſt of them wear great buſhy wigs; in ſhort, they would be a ſubject for the pencil of Hogarth; but, egad, they are ready enough in preſenting their pieces, and if a ſoldier comes the leaſt near them they level at him, and ſay, "I ſwear now, if you attempt to paſs, I'll blaze at you."

The ſoldiers' wives are allowed to paſs the centinels; but the other day a moſt ludicrous circumſtance took place, by the obſtinacy of an old man upon guard. He would not permit a woman, who was a true campaigner to go beyond him, great altercation enſued, in which the lady diſplayed much of the Billingſgate oratory, when the old man was ſo irritated as to preſent his firelock; the woman immediately ran up, ſnatched it from him, knocked him down, and ſtriding over the proſtrate hero, in the exultation of tri-

umph, profuſely beſprinkled him, not with Olympian dew, but that which is eſteemed as emollient to the complexion—and 'faith, ſomething more natural—nor did ſhe quit her poſt, till a file of ſturdy ragamuffins marched valiantly to his relief, diſpoſſeſſed the Amazon, and enabled the knight of the griſly caxon to look fierce, and re-ſhoulder his muſquet.

The Winter is now ſetting in, and as the coaſting of the tranſports from New York to Boſton is attended with delay and danger, on account of the ſtrong winds that blow at this ſeaſon upon the coaſt, General Burgoyne has made application to Congreſs for the troops to march to Providence, and to embark at Rhode Iſland. We are now anxiouſly waiting for an anſwer; that it may ſoon arrive is the ardent wiſh of

Yours, &c.

LETTER XLIX.

Cambridge, in New England,
Jan. 19th 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IT is impoſſible to deſcribe with what a dejected mind I ſit down to write, as not only the flattering hopes of ſhortly ſeeing my friend is done away, and every proſpect vaniſhed, but ſome years, perhaps, may elapſe, before the termination of this unhappy conteſt.

What was intended as an accommodation to the troops, relative to their embarking at Rhode Iſland, has proved a moſt

unfortunate circumſtance indeed; for the Congreſs have not only denied that requeſt, but have put a ſtop to any embarkation, till the convention is ratified at home by the King and Parliament; an event that can never happen, as it would be allowing the authority of the Congreſs, and the independence of the Americans. What renders our ſituation more diſtreſſing is, that had the tranſports come round to Boſton, the Council would have conſented to our embarkation.

The General's requiſition to Congreſs has created ſuſpicions in their minds (and, by the bye, no people are of ſuch a ſuſpicious diſpoſition as the Americans,) that the meaſure propoſed was merely for an opportunity of joining General Howe's army, and that we ſhould, like themſelves, be baſe enough to evade and break the articles of capitulation; after which we were to act in concert with that army againſt

againſt Waſhington; and, in ſupport of their ſuſpicions, or, at leaſt, to give a colour to them, they pretend that the veſſels ſent to Rhode Iſland were inſufficient for tranſporting the army to Europe, and that it was impoſſible to victual the fleet and army for ſo great a number, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time. This idea muſt ariſe from the great dilatorineſs in all American departments.

General Burgoyne having made complaints concerning the bad accommodation of the officers, which was not agreeable to the terms of convention, the Congreſs have conſtrued that as a direct declaration, that it had been broken on their parts by a violation of its conditions, and an indication, that we conſider the convention as diſſolved; that, under theſe circumſtances, when out of the limits of their power, and at large, we ſhould make no heſitation in acting as if

we were in no degree bound by a capitulation that we had diſavowed under reſtraint.

The Congreſs have likewiſe paſſed ſome frivolous reſolutions, that the ſoldiers had not faithfully delivered up their accoutrements, alluding to the croſs belts and cartouch boxes. Any one the leaſt converſant in military affairs, muſt know they are not public ſtores, but private, as being always furniſhed by the Colonel of the regiment. In ſhort, the Congreſs were happy to ſeize any circumſtance, as a pretext to favor their proceedings, and to render them juſtifiable in the eyes of the world. But had they made a reference to General Gates, they would have found what little dependence was to be placed as to that accuſation; for, when he obſerved the men march by with their accoutrements on, he aſked Colonel Kingſton, who had ſettled the treaty—"if it

"was

" was not cuſtomary, on field-days, for " arms and accoutrements to go toge- " ther?" when Colonel Kingſton replied, " There was nothing ſaid in the conven- " tion that he had agreed to with him, " relating to accoutrements; and that he " could have no right to any thing but " what was ſtipulated in the treaty." To which General Gates replied, " You are perfectly right;"—and, turning to ſome American officers, ſaid, " If we meant to " have had them, we ought to have in- " ſerted them in the convention." Hence it is evident Congreſs were ready to graſp at any pretence, however weak, to evade the terms of convention without incurring the charge of a direct breach of faith.

In vain was every expoſtulation of General Burgoyne, as to the ſubſtance of his letter, which conveyed no other meaning than complaint of improper uſage, and a too relaxed adherence to the articles of

capitulation. To obviate all farther difficulties, the General and Officers ſigned a parole, and were willing to ſign any paper, the more fully to ratify the convention.

Congreſs were inexorable, and it was very perceivable, they would not eaſily recede from a meaſure once adoped; no explanation of ſecurities could produce the deſired effect upon their determination. The conduct of Congreſs upon this extraordinary tranſaction, is extremely viſible; they had conceived an idea if our army were ſuffered to return to Europe, it would be eaſily replaced in the ſpring; General Howe's army being now in poſſeſſion of Philadelphia, Jerſey, New York, and other commanding ſituations, and General Waſhington ſo cloſely preſſed at Valley Forge, that upon the arrival of ſuch an additional force, it would turn the ſcale of war againſt them;

and,

and that the next campaign muſt end in their final ſubjugation; they therefore choſe to ſacrifice their faith and reputation, although an infant ſtate, by an act never excuſable. This ever will be an obloquy upon America, and point out to other powers, what little dependence is to be placed upon her public faith.

Judge, my dear friend, what muſt be the feelings of every one, and how exaſperated we muſt be at this treatment! we have no other hopes left but an exchange of priſoners, which, conſidering our numbers, will be ſome time before the whole can be effected. Our ſituation now becomes every day more and more mortifying, for, excluſive of the inſults we continually meet with from the American ſoldiery, the officers, no doubt, ſtimulated by this reſolve of Congreſs, behave very tauntingly, and Colonel Henley, who commands the troops, has been guilty

of

of great cruelty to the ſoldiers. That you may form an idea as to the natural ferocity of diſpoſition in this man, and how deliberate he is in his barbarities, I ſhall ſtate a few of them.

On the 19th of laſt month, he went up to the American barracks to releaſe ſome of our ſoldiers; after calling over their names, he addreſſed himſelf to a corporal Reeves, of the 9th regiment, " and told " him he had been confined for inſulting " a provincial officer." Reeves made anſwer, " He was ſorry for it; that he was " in liquor, and would not have acted " ſo, had he known him to have been an " officer, and was ready to aſk his pardon." Colonel Henley ſaid, " By God, Sir, had " you ſerved me ſo, I would have run you " through the body, and I believe you to " be a great raſcal." Reeves made an- " ſwer, " I am no raſcal, but a good ſol- " dier, and my officers know it." Co-

lonel

lonel Henley then demanded ſilence. Reeves repeated nearly the ſame words, adding, "That he hoped ſoon to carry "arms under General Howe, and fight "for his King and country." The Colonel then replied, "Damn your King "and country, when you had arms, you "were willing enough to lay them "down." Colonel Henley then ordered ſilence, Reeves repeating nearly the ſame words, the Colonel ordered one of the guard to run him through for a ſcoundrel; the men of the guard not obeying his orders, he diſmounted from his horſe, and ſeizing a firelock with a fixed bayonet from one of the guard, ſtabbed Corporal Reeves in the left breaſt, and whilſt he had the bayonet at his boſom, the Colonel told him, "If he ſaid another word, he "would have it through his body:" Reeves then told him "He did not care, "he would ſtand by King and his country, "till he died." Colonel Henley then made

a ſecond

a ſecond dart at him with the firelock and fixed bayonet, which two of the other priſoners threw up, and it paſſed over Reeves's ſhoulder; at the ſame time one of the men ſaid to Colonel Henley, "That "the man was his priſoner, that he had "better not take his life, as he could do "with him as with the other men who "were in his cuſtody." Colonel Henley then returned the firelock, and ordered him back into the guard-room, diſmiſſing the reſt of the priſoners.

On the 8th inſtant, as ſome ſoldiers were looking at a party of Americans, where Colonel Henley was preſent: he ordered the ſoldiers to go off and clear the parade. The ſoldiers turned about, and went off as faſt as they could; the croud being great, and the road very dirty, Colonel Henley turned about, and addreſſing the ſoldiers, ſaid, "Damn you, "I'll make you make more haſte;" and running

running up to a corporal Hadley, puſhed his ſword in his left ſide and bent it: he then turned about and went to the right of his party, ſtraightening his ſword as he went along—a pretty example this from a commanding officer to thoſe under his command.

Do not be ſurprized after this, if you ſhould hear of a general maſſacre of all the Britiſh troops! But what more fully ſtamps the character of this moſt ſanguinary man, and his ferocious diſpoſition, is a moſt unaccountable expreſſion he made to ſome ſoldiers, without any provocation.

Our paſſes are renewable every month, for which purpoſe the Quarter-maſter-ſerjeants of the different regiments attend at the American Deputy Adjutant-General's office; on the 16th of laſt month, as the ſerjeants attended at the office, to ap-

ply

ply for paſſes, Serjeant Fleming, of the 47th regiment, not being acquainted with Colonel Henley, took him for Colonel Keith, the Deputy Adjutant-General, ſaluted him cap in hand, and was going to addreſs him, when Colonel Henley extended his arm towards him, with his fiſt clenched, and ſaid, "You raſcals, I'll "make damnation fly out of ye; for I "will myſelf, one of theſe nights, go the "rounds, and if I hear the leaſt word, or "noiſe in your barracks, I'll pour ſhot "amongſt you, and make flames of Hell "jump out of ye, and turn your barracks "inſide out; declaring, if he was a cen-"tinel, and any Britiſh ſoldiers looked "ſulky at him, he would blow their "brains out!"

Such glaring conduct could not eſcape the notice of General Burgoyne, who applied to General Heath for redreſs, and he inſtituted a Court of Enquiry, to inveſtigate

tigate the grounds of complaint, and reported, it would be for the *honor* of Col. Henley, as well as for the ſatisfaction of all intereſted, that the judgment of a Court-martial ſhould be taken on his conduct, during his command at Cambridge, which Court-martial is to ſit to-morrow.

The weather has been very ſevere of late, and there has been great falls of ſnow, but now it is more pleaſant and ſerene; the north winds blow very ſharp, the ſnow is about two or three feet thick on the ground, and the inhabitants, inſtead of carioling, like the Canadians, have large ſleighs, that will contain ten or twelve perſons, which are drawn by two, and ſometimes four horſes, but parties of young folks are more accuſtomed to go a frolicking. As this is a ſingular cuſtom, I ſhall deſcribe it to you.

On

When the moon is favorable, a number of young men and women, to the amount of thirty or forty, ſet off in ſleighs, about ſeven o'clock in the evening, to join ſome other party, perhaps at the diſtance of eighteen or twenty miles, where they dance and carouſe till day-light, when they return and follow their common avocations, as if they had reſted all night; it is not uncommon, an hour or two after day-light, to be awaked with the ſinging and noiſe they make, and by the number of bells affixed to the horſes, on the return of ſome of theſe parties. Singular ſituations and manners are productive of ſingular cuſtoms. In England, this would be eſteemed extremely imprudent, and attended with dangerous conſequences; but, after what I have related reſpecting *bundling*, I need not ſay, in how innocent a view this is looked upon. Apropos, as to that cuſtom, along the ſea coaſt, by a continual intercourſe among Europeans;

it

it is in ſome meaſure aboliſhed; but they ſtill retain one ſomething ſimilar, which is termed *tarrying*.

When a young man is enamoured of a woman, and wiſhes to marry her, he propoſes the affair to her parents, (without whoſe conſent no marriage, in this colony, can take place) if they have no objection, he is allowed to tarry with her one night, in order to make his court. At the uſual time, the old couple retire to bed, leaving the young ones to ſettle matters as they can, who, having ſat up as long as they think proper, get into bed together alſo, but without putting off their under garments, to prevent ſcandal. If the parties agree, it is all very well, the banns are publiſhed, and they married without delay; if not, they part, and poſſibly never ſee each other again, unleſs, which is an accident that ſeldom happens, the forſaken fair proves pregnant, in which caſe

the man, unleſs he abſconds, is obliged to marry her, on pain of excommunication.

The ignorance of the American officers and ſoldiers, and the ſcrupulous punctuality to their orders, which one half of them have not underſtanding to comprehend, muſt occaſion confuſion and trouble. I have hitherto endeavoured to avoid having any altercation with them; but the other evening I had the pleaſure of being conducted to the guard-houſe, though not without company, among whom was Lord Balcarras, Major Maſter, of our regiment, and Major England, of the 47 regiment.

We were returning, about nine o'clock, from Proſpect-hill, to our quarters in Cambridge; and about a mile from the barracks, were ſtopt by a patrole; who, although we ſhewed our paſſes and our

ſide-

ſide-arms, would not let us proceed; but ſaid, he had orders to take every Britiſh officer or ſoldier up after dark. His Lordſhip then informed him, "that he was ſure no ſuch orders had been given;" but the Corporal ſaid, "he received thoſe "orders from his Captain; and that we "muſt march to the guard-houſe." Accordingly we were eſcorted, though a very cold piercing night, back to the barracks. When we arrived at the guard, his Lordſhip remonſtrated with the Captain, who ſaid, "He believed he had ſuch orders, "but he was not certain; however, as we "were brought priſoners, we muſt re-"main till next morning." His Lordſhip then deſired him to ſend to Colonel Gerriſh, at Cambridge, the commanding officer, which he refuſed. After much altercation and ſome perſuaſion, rather than paſs the cold night without any covering, in their bleak guard-houſe, he was prevailed upon to let us proceed to our

quarters, upon our ſigning a parole to return the next morning at eight o'clock; the next day, when we went to the guard-houſe, they flocked round us with the ſame eager curioſity to ſee his Lordſhip, as they did to ſee Lord Napier; we remained at the guard till it was relieved, when the Captain that came to relieve would not take charge of us, nor the other diſcharge us; therefore, when the old guard was gone, his Lordſhip aſked the Captain "Whoſe priſoners we were?" he replied, "None of mine, and I deſire you will go all of you about your buſineſs." We went accordingly. Complaint being made by General Philips to their Commanding Officer, all the anſwer he received was, that he ſuppoſed it was ſome ignorant Captain, who had made a miſtake. Thus you ſee we are the ſport of theſe fools. What a footing military diſcipline is on in the United States!

I could

I could not ſo freely have communicated my ſentiments, had I not an opportunity to ſend this by an officer going to New-York, from which place he returns to Europe, who will deliver it to you, and at the ſame time inform you that he left, in good health, but very low ſpirits,

Yours, &c.

LETTER L.

Cambridge, in New England,
Feb. 28, 1788.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

OUR attention has of late been engroſſed with the trial of Colonel Henley. As the whole proceedings would be tireſome, I ſhall only juſt give you the ſubſtance of General Burgoyne's opening that proſecution, his reply, and the Judge Advocate's, with the extraordinary opinion of the Court, after the enormous crimes were fully ſubſtantiated, upon oath; when ill-treatment, miſconduct, and cruelty, were indiſputably proved, by ſuch reſpectable

reſpectable witneſſes as Colonel Anſtruther, Colonel Lind, Major Forſter, Lieutenant Vallancy, Lieutenant Bibby, and other officers. But as giving you only the heads of his ſpeeches, would take from the energy and beauty of the General's language, I ſhall relate it verbatim, as taken in ſhort-hand.

At the opening of the Court, General Burgoyne took notice of a diſtinction between the charge, as ſtated in his letter, and General Heath's order. In the letter, the general tenor of Colonel Henley's language and conduct, encouraging his inferiors, and ſeemingly calculated to excite them to bloody purpoſes, was only ſtated as a matter of ſuſpicious belief; reaſoning upon this principle, it was more candid to ſuppoſe one inſtigator of ſuch evils, than a general, voluntary, bad diſpoſition among the American troops; that the direct matter of charge which the

General

General pledged himſelf formally and officially to ſupport, was contained in the words " behaviour, criminal as an officer, and " unbecoming a man, of the moſt indecent, violent, vindictive ſeverity againſt " unarmed men, and of intentional murder."

General Burgoyne made this obſervation, as a ſecurity againſt any cenſure of inconſiſtency on his part, for not going at large into matters of inferior moment, as to the general tenor of language and conduct of Col. Henley, declaring he ſhould confine his evidence to tranſactions of the 19th of December, and the 8th of January, except in caſes where the behaviour of Colonel Henley, at other times, ſerved to elucidate the principles and deſigns upon which he acted upon thoſe particular days. After making this obſervation, as to the diſtinction in the charge, the General opened the proſecution.

" *Mr.*

" *Mr. Preſident, and Gentlemen of the*
" *Court,*

" I preſent myſelf as proſecutor before
" you, in charges of a heinous nature
" againſt Colonel Henley;—and, before
" I proceed to adduce the evidence in ſup-
" port of them, I think it a duty to my
" ſtation, and a part of propriety towards
" the Court, to declare the principles upon
" which I act.

" If the reports in my hand, and which
" will preſently be brought to teſt upon
" oath, do not deceive me, public faith
" has been ſhaken, wanton barbarities
" have been committed, and a general
" maſſacre of the troops under my care,
" apparently threatened. In objects of
" this magnitude, where not only the
" rights of a ſingle nation, but the inte-
" reſts of human nature are concerned, the
" conduct

" conduct of the profecution falls naturally
" (however difagreeable the office, and
" unequal the talents of the perfon) to him
" who has the fupreme truft upon the
" fpot.

" A fecond inducement to appear here,
" is that of private honor. I have un-
" dertaken to accufe Colonel Henley,
" in a degree that ought to affect the feel-
" ings of a foldier nearer than life. It is
" fit I ftand forth, in perfon, to maintain
" my accufation, and if it fails in point of
" proof, to make him the fulleft atone-
" ment in my power.

" I acknowledge a third impulfion upon
" my mind, equally irrefiftible;—grati-
" tude, efteem and affection to that meri-
" torious, refpectable part of my country,
" the brave and honeft Britifh foldier—
" a private man, defencelefs, becaufe un-
" armed, ignorant of your laws, unqua-
" lified

" lified to make good his cauſe in a court
" of juſtice, and who has not to look for
" redreſs of injury to his own officers.—
" I confeſs I am too ſelfiſh to reſign to any
" brother officer the pride and gratifica-
" tion of ſtanding in the front, for the
" defence of men, faithful comrades of
" honor and misfortune,——who have
" fought bravely under my orders, who
" have bled in my preſence, and who are
" now expoſed to oppreſſion and perſecu-
" tion, by the abuſe of a treaty ſigned by
" my hand.

" Thus much I thought proper to pre-
" miſe, leſt any man ſhould ſuppoſe me
" actuated by ſo mean and paltry a mo-
" tive, as vindictive perſonal reſentment,
" againſt a gentleman too, of whom, be-
" fore theſe tranſactions, I could know no
" harm, and towards whom, if I had any
" prejudice, I ſeriouſly declare it was, from
" his general deportment, a prejudice of
" favor—

" favor—perſonal reſentment?—No, gen-
" tlemen, I ſtand upon broader and firmer
" ground—the ground of natural rights,
" perſonal protection and public honor,—
" and I appeal to the great principles and
" land marks by which human ſocieties
" hold and are directed, and which, whe-
" ther in ſituations of amity or hoſtility,
" are eſteemed equally ſacred by the uni-
" verſal concurrence of civilized man.

" And this leads me to a momentary re-
" flection upon the order under which
" you ſit, originating from the report of
" the Court of Enquiry.

" It ſtates—*That the Court, after mature*
" *conſideration, are of opinion, that from the*
" *evidence offered on the ſide of General Bur-*
" *goyne againſt Colonel Henley, it will be moſt*
" *for the* honor *of* COLONEL HENLEY, *as*
" *well as for the ſatisfaction of all intereſted,*
" *that the judgment of a Court Martial ſhould*
" *be*

" *be taken on his conduct, during his command*
" *at Cambridge. The General approving the*
" *opinion of the Court, orders, &c.*

" I confeſs, I expected General Heath
" would have joined iſſue with the proſe-
" cutor, in this inſtance, and placed the
" Court-martial upon a more enlarged
" baſis than the honor of an individual,
" however reſpectable he may be, or the
" ſatisfaction of the complainants.—But
" be it as it may, my purpoſe is anſwered,
" a Court-martial is obtained, the mem-
" bers are ſworn, and they are bound to
" decide."

" I know you will feel with me the
" difference between this and common
" courts; ſuch a ſtate of the minutes as
" would ſuffice for your internal convic-
" tion, after hearing the evidence, or as
" would be merely explanatory to the per-
" ſon who is to confirm the ſentence, will

" not

" not be thought ſufficient here. You " well know the whole of this matter will " be publiſhed, tranſlated, conſidered and " commented upon by every nation in the " world:—not only *reality*, but *perſpicuity* " of juſtice muſt appear upon the face of " the proceedings. You are truſtees for " the honor of an infant State, and there- " fore evaſion, ſubterfuge and law-craft" (an alluſion to the Judge Advocate Tudor, who is a lawyer at Boſton) " were any " man hardy enough to offer ſuch at " your tribunal, would be of no avail; " nay, were it poſſible any member could " be warped unintentionally by perſonal " favor, or prejudice of civil conteſt (good " minds are ſometimes prone to ſuch illu- " ſions) yet here a moment's reflection " upon the reputation of his country, " would retrieve his reaſon, and what his " prejudice would incline him to adopt, " policy would prompt him to reject."

" Upon

" Upon the full confidence, therefore, " of the neceſſary, as well as willing " juſtice of the court, I ſhall proceed " to call the evidence. I have neither in- " clination or powers to heighten the " facts by a previous narrative; let them " ſtrike the view as truth ſhall ſhew them " in all the ſimplicity of their horrors—a " monſtrous ſpectacle, from which the " mind and eye will turn aſide with de- " teſtation."

Here a variety of evidence fully proved the accuſation of the crimes I mentioned in my laſt, beſides various others which you will perceive commented on, when the General cloſed the charge.

After a full examination of the evidence in ſupport of the proſecution, the Judge Advocate made an objection to the General making any obſervations on it, arguing, that if he was permitted, it muſt be upon

the

the principle of indulgence, not of right; and after ſome little altercation between the Judge Advocate and the General, the Court acquieſced, when General Burgoyne proceeded as follows:

" *Mr. Preſident and Gentlemen of the* " *Court,*"

" It being now admitted, that in cloſing " the evidence I may offer ſuch argu- " ments as to me ſhall ſeem proper, in " ſupport of the charge, and reſerving to " myſelf a claim of replying to the de- " fence, I ſhall enter upon the firſt part " of the very painful, though by no " means difficult undertaking—painful, " becauſe I cannot purſue the offender " without ſetting that offender in points " of view, at which every benignant mind " muſt ſhudder—eaſy in every other re- " ſpect is the taſk, becauſe I will venture " to pronounce the evidence, when ar- " ranged and adjuſted, will amount to

" ſuch

" ſuch a maſs of proof as cannot be over-
" thrown, and will authorize and call for
" the ſtrongeſt terms I can uſe, in my
" demand of public juſtice. And, Gen-
" tlemen; let me be permitted to aſſume
" to myſelf applauſe rather than blame,
" that the evidence has not been laid be-
" fore you in a regular ſeries; the reaſon
" was, that though aſſured by the reports
" made to me, that the evidence would
" produce conviction upon the whole, I
" was ignorant how the teſtimony of the
" particular witneſſes would apply, and
" point to the progeſſion of the charges,
" becauſe I had no previous intercourſe
" with them. I declare upon my ſolemn
" word and honor, that I had no con-
" cern or communication, directly or in-
" directly, with any non-commiſſioned
" officer or ſoldier who has appeared at
" your bar, one only excepted, viz. Ser-
" jeant Fleming, of the 47th regiment,
" who has depoſed to the ſalutation Co-

" lonel Henley gave him and his comrades " at the Adjutant General's office; the " whole matter appeared ſo very impro- " bable, that I not only ſent for the Ser- " jeant, to warn him of the ſacredneſs of " an oath, and the crime of intemperate " zeal that led to bearing falſe witneſs; " but alſo I thought it my duty to enquire " minutely into his character.—I found " the man firm and uniform in aſſerting " his facts; and I found his officers una- " nimous in ſupporting the credit of his " veracity.

" In every other circumſtance I adhered " religiouſly to the determination I had " taken, of ſecluding myſelf from the " witneſſes, not only to guard my cha- " racter, in this region of ſuſpicion and " aſperſion, againſt the ſuppoſition of un- " fair practices;---I beſides had a ſcruple " of truſting my own mind with too " haſty prepoſſeſſions in a cauſe, where,

" with

" with the ſolemn matter of a public na-
" ture, is involved the fate of a gentle-
" man, high in his military ſtation, and
" to judge by the apparent ſigns of good
" wiſhes on this day, high in popular
" eſteem.

" Thus unprejudiced I came into Court.
" I ſcorn to take the ſlighter matters that
" might be comprehended in the general
" words of the charge, ſuch as perſonal
" incivility to the officers, expreſſions and
" actions of peeviſhneſs, haughtineſs and
" diſguſt. I mean not to preſs, that they
" exiſted, or if they did, I am deſirous that
" they ſhould paſs as faults of temper and
" deficiencies of manners, incident to
" man's nature, education, and habitual
" courſe of life; and I ſhall confine my
" comments, as it is my duty to do, to the
" teſtimonies of your minutes, and the cir-
" cumſtances relating to them.

" Without departing from this princi-
" ple, it will be neceſſary to take a general
" view of the ſtate of things, previous to the
" date of the grievances complained of.—
" We arrived at Cambridge, paſſengers
" through your country, under the ſanction
" of a truce—in whatever capacity we had
" been found in a foreign, and as you intend,
" an independent ſtate, we were entitled
" to a perſonal protection, by the general
" and moſt ſacred laws of cuſtom and
" reaſon; but when, to the promulgated
" law of civilization, are added, the un-
" written principles,—or written only
" upon the hearts of generous people,—
" honor, reſpect for the brave, the hoſpita-
" ble wiſhes that uſually preſs to the re-
" lief of the unfortunate, the ſtranger,
" and the defenceleſs man in your power,
" how will our claims multiply upon the
" mind!—Sanguine imaginations con-
" ceived yet further motives for kindneſs;
" there were among us men ſo vain as to
" believe

" believe, that notwithſtanding the ſepa-
" ration between us, the different duties
" we now maintained, the prejudices of
" political zeal, and the animoſity of civil
" war—yet ſtill the conflict over, it might
" be remembered we once were brothers,
" and the more eſpecially, as it was im-
" poſſible, by the convention of Saratoga,
" that the generality of us ſhould ever op-
" poſe America in arms again.

" We were led into theſe deluſive hopes
" by the very honorable treatment ſhewn
" us by General Gates, by that we re-
" ceived from you, Mr. Preſident,—(who
" was a Brigadier General Glover) when
" you conducted us upon the march, and
" by that we afterwards found from the
" worthy member of the Court near you,
" (a Colonel Lee) who had the imme-
" diate command in this diſtrict upon our
" arrival, and to whom, moſt happily

" for us, the command is now again " devolved."

" The firſt ſymptom we diſcovered of " any uncandid deſign, was the mode " eſtabliſhed for correcting errors and diſ- " turbances in the troops of convention; " men were taken up, impriſoned and " otherwiſe puniſhed by the American " troops, without any prior reference to " their own officers. I very well know with " how much ſlight and ſevere deriſion my " ſentiments have been treated on this " ſubject, but I ſtill inſiſt, that after tak- " ing up men for faults, to have applied " to the officers of the convention troops, " in the firſt inſtance, for their puniſh- " ment, would have been conſonant to " every principle of decorum and good " policy, not meaning to deny, that upon " any proof of partiality or connivance, " or undue lenity, it then became a pro- " per and indiſpenſible duty of General " Heath,

" Heath, to take the diſtribution of juſtice
" into his own hands."

" The contrary maxim having been
" eſtabliſhed, let us examine, in point of
" time, though the laſt in the proceed-
" ings, that burſt of independency, ſcur-
" rility and impiety, from Colonel Henley
" to the Quarter-maſter Serjeants at the
" Adjutant-General's Office. It is not
" without difficulty I can frame my
" mouth to read the words, as they were
" delivered upon oath, by that very re-
" ſpectable witneſs, Serjeant Fleming,—
" *You raſcals, &c. I'll make damnation fly*
" *out of you, and I will myſelf one of theſe*
" *nights go the rounds, and if I hear the*
" *leaſt word or noiſe in your barracks, I'll*
" *pour ſhot amongſt you, and make flames of*
" *Hell jump out of ye, and turn your bar-*
" *racks inſide out.*"

" The Court will remember, that when " this evidence was given, it rather ex- " cited laughter in ſome part of the au- " dience, than any ſerious condemnation; " this day it ſeems to make a very dif- " ferent impreſſion——the minds of all " around follow me while I contend, that " expreſſions ſo wild, ſo unfit, ſo unpre- " cedented, from the mouth of a Gentle- " man, argue the moſt horrid paſſions " boiling in the breaſt——the very enthu- " ſiaſm of rage and malice.-----I defy any " man to diveſt himſelf of that idea; it " will attend the mind through the whole " courſe of the proceedings, and caſt a " ſhocking glare over every ſubſequent " tranſaction, of fore-thought intention, " and bloody reſolution."

" It is very material to obſerve, that " this demonſtration of Colonel Henley's " mind was on or about the 16th of " December, and it was no longer than " till

" till the 19th, before he confirmed by " an overt-act, the principles he had " profeſſed."

" The ſtabbing of Corporal Reeves is " proved by the evidence of Corporal " Buchanan, Alexander Thomſon, and " Robert Steel.

" I ſhall quote indiſcriminately from " the teſtimony of theſe witneſſes, becauſe " though one may recollect a few ſhort " paſſages or words more than another, " there is not a ſhadow of contradiction, " and I am confident, there never was an " inſtance where truth was laid before " a Court by united evidence, more per- " ſpicuouſly."

" It has been ſworn, " *That on the morn-* " *ing of the 19th of December, Colonel* " *Henley went to the barracks, on Proſpect* " *Hill, to releaſe ſome Britiſh ſoldiers, who*

were

" *were priſoners*; *that having paraded them*,
" *he read over their crimes, and coming to*
" *Reeves, told him he was confined for in-*
" *ſulting a Provincial Officer. Reeves made*
" *anſwer, he was ſorry for it*; *that he was*
" *in liquor, and would not have acted ſo,*
" *had he known him to have been an Officer.*"

" I pauſe here to apply to the feelings
" of the Court, whether a more decent,
" proper and ſatisfactory excuſe could
" have been conceived---what did it draw
" from the Colonel?----" *Had it been me*
" *you ſerved ſo, I would have run you through*
" *the body, you raſcal.*" Continue the compariſon between the language of the Colonel and the Corporal:——" *Sir, I am no*
" *raſcal, but a good ſoldier, and my officers*
" *know it*; *and I hope ſoon to be with General*
" *Howe, and fight for my King and country.*"
What did this produce from the Colonel?
" *Damn your King and Country*, and an
" order to the guard to run him through
" the

" the body---not a hand nor a heart could
" be found for the butchery. The Colonel,
" enraged at the virtuous diſobedience of
" his men, leaps from his horſe, ſeizes a
" firelock with a fixed bayonet, and ſtrikes
" at the man's heart. I call upon the
" Gentleman of a learned profeſſion near
" me, to inform the Court, when he
" ſums up the evidence at the cloſe of the
" trial, whether this act would not con-
" conſtitute malice propenſe in law. I
" mean, that admitting, for the ſake of
" argument, that there had been ſuch
" provocation given, as would have juſti-
" fied a man having an offenſive weapon
" to make uſe of it inſtantly, which would
" have been only manſlaughter, whether
" the intermediate act of diſmounting a
" horſe, and taking a firelock from the
" other, implying time for recollection,
" would not have conſtituted the act of
" wilful murder, had the man died. Con-
" ſider now, Gentlemen, what followed:
" the

" the brave Corporal, in the inſtant ex-
" pectation that his words would coſt
" him his life, perſevered, " *I don't care, I*
" *will ſtand by my King and my Country till*
" *I die!*" The action would have charm-
" ed a brave man; it would have been a
" ſpell upon his arm, and kept the ſtroke
" ſuſpended beyond the power of witch-
" craft—what effect had it upon the Co-
" lonel? To provoke a ſecond ſtab, which
" was only diverted by the intervention of
" the man next him, who caught hold of
" the bayonet and threw it up."

" Gentlemen, when I ſay the perſever-
" ance of the Corporal ought rather to
" have pleaſed than provoked, I ſpeak
" not vaguely or romantically----I feel
" conſcious proof of the truth, and when
" I conſider the actions of a Waſhing-
" ton---when I meet in the field a Gates,
" an Arnold, a General Glover, and ſee
" them bravely facing death, in ſupport

" of

" of their principles---though I would
" ſhed my laſt blood upon a different con-
" viction, I cannot withhold from the
" enemy the reſpect due to the ſoldier,
" and the immediate conflict over, he
" robs me of my anger, and ſeizes my
" good will.

" Gentlemen, in the different parts of
" the examination upon this fact, many
" queſtions have been aſked by the pri-
" ſoner, by the Judge Advocate, and by
" the Court, reſpecting the appearance of
" the priſoner's temper. Was he not in
" a mild mood?---Did he not ſeem good
" humored?-----Mild murder------Good
" humored murder-------are phraſes, I
" fancy, will not convey any clear mean-
" ing, till men change their ideas of that
" crime! We hear, it is true, ſometimes,
" as a ſort of proverb, to mark the utmoſt
" malignity and treachery of a man ſmil-
" ing in your face while he cuts your
" throat;

" throat; but, I believe, ſuch ſmiles were
" never produced as excuſes or extenua-
" tion of guilt. Theſe queſtions, there-
" fore, as I conceive, can have no ten-
" dency but to inſinuate, that Colonel
" Henley's paſſion was entirely raiſed by
" the immediate provocation he received.
" I am ready to join iſſue upon this argu-
" ment, and if the gentlemen will reſt his
" cauſe upon it, I will relinquiſh the
" proof eſtabliſhed of Reeves's decency
" and conſiſtency, and give him latitude
" for all the provocation he can ſuppoſe,
" ſhort of perſonal aſſault, and the ne-
" ceſſity of ſelf-defence, which I am ſure
" will not be pretended---tranſpoſe, if he
" pleaſes, the time when Reeves is prov-
" ed to have talked about Ring Hancock,
" and bring it back to the inſtant where
" it was attempted to be introduced as a
" ſubſtantial matter of provocation. He
" ſhall add inſolence of geſture to abuſive
" terms, and under all theſe fictitious

" circumſtances,

" circumſtances, I will take the judgment " of the Court, whether Colonel Henley, " with full powers to impriſon, and to " puniſh by regular, decent, legal proceed- " ing, has a ſhadow of juſtification for " making himſelf, in his own perſon, " party, judge and executioner." Deferring the concluſion till another opportunity, and willing to embrace the very favorable one that occurs. I remain

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER LI.

Cambridge, in New England,
March 6th 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WITHOUT any preface, I ſhall proceed to finiſh the General's addreſs, as if no delay had intervened.

" From the 19th of December, the hands " of Colonel Henley were imbrued in " blood, till the 5th of January; but it " evidently appears upon your proceed- " ings, that the influence of his example, " and the encouragement of his precepts, " failed not to operate. As the firſt

" proof

" proof of it, I requeſt the attention of
" the Court to the teſtimony of Colonel
" Lind, concerning the poſition of the
" centry, which was ſuch as muſt neceſſa-
" rily affect every paſſenger upon the
" public road, whenever he fired; and
" at the ſame time with a readineſs to do
" miſchief, ſo marked, that he took wo-
" men for his objects, and would not
" give them time to turn round, '*he had*
' *orders ſo to do.*' Let the behaviour of the
" next centry, to whom Colonel Lind
" applied, concerning the ungentleman-
" like behaviour of the officer, with his
" confirmation of the whole proceeding,
" being ACCORDING TO ORDER, be com-
" bined and compared, and it muſt uni-
" verſally ſtrike common ſenſe, that theſe
" were ſeveral parts of one determined
" plan to diffuſe the ſeeds of diſcord and
" fury, in order afterwards to countenance
" a general havock.

" But, it may be ſaid, the orders under " which the continental troops acted, " were not thoſe of Colonel Henley, but " of a ſuperior. Will that be pleaded? " Was the poſition of the centries to kill " or wound three or four paſſengers at a " ſhot, the firing upon women, the refuſal " of redreſs to Colonel Lind, with all the " indecent manner and language attend- " ing---will theſe circumſtances be al- " ledged to have proceeded from ſuperior " orders?—If ſo, the excuſe, indeed, be- " comes more alarming to us. It is not " my part, at this time, to drop a conſider- " ation that would lead far on that ſub- " ject, I ſhall only remark, how little the " excuſe would benefit Colonel Hen- " ley, who would ſtill remain a cruel agent " of—(I will uſe no improper terms) I " will only ſay, a cruel agent of too haſty " principles.

" Colonel

" Colonel Henley has aſked, whether " complaints were made to him of the " tranſactions of the 22d; I believe there " were not—but I dare ſay he will recol- " lect the reaſon—other grievances of the " moſt atrocious nature, abuſe of officers, " and aſſaults upon their lives, were pre- " paring to be laid before General Heath: " they were in number, and in time, to " have filled up a much longer interval " than between the 19th of December " and the 8th of January, and not brought " before this Court, becauſe I underſtood " it to be the intention of General Heath " they ſhould be ſeparately enquired into. " Enough has appeared to ſhew how the " ſyſtem of perſecution was preſerved, and " I come now to the tranſaction of the " 8th of January.

" Upon a general view of that black " day, I am at a loſs where firſt to carry " your obſervation—the field was exten-

" ſive, the ſcenes ſeparate and ſucceſſive,
" but evidently guided by one uniform de-
" ſign.——In one place, a party on the
" march are ſtabbing and knocking out
" the brains of innocent ſpectators——at
" another, men, under pretence of a pri-
" ſoner's eſcape, are glutting the ſame
" bloody purpoſes upon men not pretend-
" ed to be concerned—in a third, Colonel
" Henley, in perſon (the Britiſh officers at
" the ſame time being denied admittance,
" as appears by the evidence of Lieutenant
" Bibby) is running men through the
" body with his ſword.

" The firſt of theſe complicated horrors,
" in point of time, was the attack firſt
" with the bayonet, and afterwards with
" the butt end of the firelock. I will
" read the evidence, without a comment"
(which was the evidence of Major Forſter
of the twenty-firſt regiment, and Lieu-
tenant Smith of the Artillery, who de-
poſed,

poſed, that they were within thirty yards, that they neither heard or ſaw any provocation or inſult offered, but were counting the files of the guard; that when the rear came near the Britiſh Guard-room, they obſerved a ſcuffle, and the guard paſſed on; upon their going over, found Trudget had been wounded, and the blood running down his face; they ordered the men to diſperſe, which they did immediately; that there was a free paſſage for the Continental troops, and not the leaſt diſpute upon that ſubject. "I have only "now to remark, it is rather a prepoſ- "ſeſſion in favor of the Continental "troops, to ſuppoſe that ſuch malici- "ous treatment could proceed from a "general ſentiment; no body of people "are ſo barbarous, unleſs inſtigated, and "now is the time to call upon the learned "Gentleman near me, for another duty "of his office, to expound to the Court "the principles of law, reſpecting acceſ-

" ſaries and accomplices, and to ſay whe-
" ther a man, by order, advice, example,
" or any other encouragement, influencing
" another to do a miſchievous act, is not
" *particeps criminis*, at an hundred miles
" diſtance, as much as if preſent on the
" ſpot.

" The ſtabbing of Wilſon follows in
" courſe of the evidence." (he was wound-
ed in the ſide by a Provincial ſoldier, whilſt
he was parrying off the bayonet that
another was puſhing at him) " and it
" appears, as little comment is neceſſary
" upon this, as upon the former action,
" further than to remark, that in this
" caſe, Colonel Henley is found to be ac-
" ceſſary, not upon circumſtantial, pre-
" ſumptive and argumentative, but up-
" on poſitive proof, for it is ſworn the
" action was done in his ſight; that he
" made no attempt to prevent it, and
" though it be alledged, and even ad-
" mitted,

" mitted, that he was at too great a dif-
" tance, yet his giving no reprimand nor
" check to the ſoldiers, upon ſeeing the
" act committed, carries as direct a con-
" viction of approbation and encourage-
" ment, as if he had given open ap-
" plauſe.

" The laſt article to mark the thirſt of
" blood, is the ſtabbing Corporal Hadley,
" and following Winks with threats of the
" ſame fate.—It would be ſuperfluous to
" expatiate upon the ſtrength of the
" proofs, the concurrence of witneſſes,
" that there was no provocation to this
" deliberation and wantonneſs of bar-
" barity. The intention is ſo clear, in
" my opinion, againſt the probability of
" doubt, that I ſhould not touch a mo-
" ment upon it, were it not that a very
" grave application was made to the
" Court, by the moſt reſpectable autho-
" rity in it, to conſider of the nature of

" wounds, as matters of the greateſt im-
" portance—and queſtion upon queſtion
" was put to the Surgeon, in every caſe,
" to find whether they were dangerous or
" not.—Is it poſſible that any Gentleman
" can mean to meaſure the degree of the
" crime by the depth of the wound, and
" to argue that a man may thruſt a wea-
" pon into another's breaſt with impunity,
" provided he does not touch a mortal
" part! If this doctrine holds good, you
" ought to eſtabliſh ſchools of anatomy
" for the education of young officers; the
" ſcience of diſſection ſhould be added to
" the ſkill of the fencing-maſter, to train
" the pupils to that nicety of touch, that
" can feel to a hair's-breadth between
" death and life; a ſort of fiddleſtick dex-
" terity, that can run diviſions upon veins
" and arteries, and ſtop ſhort in time and
" tune to the thouſandth part of a ſecond.
" Really, Gentlemen, I am not willingly
" ludicrous upon this ſubject, but it is

" impoſſible

" impoſſible to treat ſuch an argument
" gravely.----I diſmiſs it to my learned
" neighbour, with one more injunction to
" ſhew the Court, in law, that where a
" man paſſes a ſword with violence at
" another's breaſt, whether the wound is
" a mere puncture, or goes to the hilt, the
" intentional guilt is the ſame.-----I have
" only one matter further to obſerve, upon
" the croſs-queſtioning of the witneſſes;
" it has perhaps been wiſhed to inſinuate,
" that at the time of theſe violent proceed-
" ings, there was cauſe of apprehenſion
" the armed troops might be ſurrounded
" and overcome; the troops themſelves
" will hardly thank their friends for that
" idea!—What, ſhall it be alledged that
" the militia of America, who, animated
" by their cauſe, have been ſelf taught the
" uſe of arms; that body, where every
" man is ſuppoſed himſelf to be an hoſt—
" ſhall ſuch ſoldiers be apprehenſive of
" danger, from half their number of un-
" armed

" armed, mercenary, miniſterial ſlaves, for
" ſuch I know they think us!—No, Gen-
" tlemen, I reject with you ſo injurious a
" ſuppoſition; I give credit to the ſpirit
" and force of your militia;—I do it ſeri-
" ouſly and upon experience, and it is
" upon that credit I found this propoſi-
" tion, that it being impoſſible the officers
" and ſoldiers ſhould be induced to acts
" of violence, by any apprehenſion of
" reſiſtance, it follows, by the faireſt de-
" duction, that either there was more pre-
" valent malignity than ever appeared be-
" fore in the human heart, or that the
" whole proceeded from direction, order,
" and a ſyſtematical plan.

" Little more, I imagine, need be remark-
" ed, to apply the evidence to the ſeveral
" diſtinct terms I have uſed in the charge.
" That the whole tenor of Colonel Hen-
" ley's conduct was heinouſly criminal, as
" an Officer, will hardly be diſputed, in a
" country

" country where the principles of liberty
" have been ſo deeply ſtudied. An army
" is not to be borne in a free State, but
" upon the principle of defence againſt an
" outward enemy, or the protection of the
" laws.—The officer who makes himſelf
" the Arbiter of the Law, is guilty of the
" moſt ſhameful perverſion of moral duty,
" and his impunity would ſcarcely be
" thought a very comfortable preſage of
" the growing liberties of his country.

" I have alſo ſaid, the Colonel's beha-
" viour was unbecoming a man.—I will
" not trifle with the time or underſtanding
" of the Court, to enter into definitions
" upon this term, nor will I ſhock the
" ears of Officers, nor even of the unfor-
" tunate perſon under trial, with ſo groſs a
" term as the world in general apply to
" the act of aſſaulting a woman, a prieſt,
" or unarmed man, for they are all exactly
" in the ſame predicament. The ſword

" drawn

" drawn for ſuch a purpoſe is no longer " the badge and diſtinction of a gentle- " man; it is degraded with the imple- " ments of the aſſaſſin and hangman, and " contracts a ſtain that can never be wiped " away.

I cannot help remarking to you, for I was in Court that day, at the concluſion of this laſt ſentence, the Colonel changed color, and appeared burſting with rage; but to proceed——

" Gentlemen," ſays the General,---" I " have now gone through the material " parts of the proceedings; whether the " offences are reſolved into vindictive " reſentment, or more deep deſign, or " both, it muſt ſtill appear wonderful " that a general maſſacre did not enſue.— " By the patience and the diſcipline of " the Britiſh ſoldiers, thoſe horrors have " been avoided; but whatever the eſcape " may

" may have been upon our part, it is " tenfold more material on yours. We " might, *perhaps*, for the ſtruggles of the " deſperate are hard----but, *perhaps*, we " might have been ſacrificed to the laſt " man—we ſhould thus have paid a ſol- " dier's debt, which we have often riſqued; " our fall would have been revenged, and " our memories attended with pity and " honor.----But for America, the tranſ- " actions would have remained a foul and " indelible blot in the firſt page of her " New Hiſtory, nor would any ſeries of " diſavowal and penitence, nor ages of " rectitude in government, purity in man- " ners, inflexible faith, or the whole ca- " talogue of public virtues, have redeem- " ed her in the opinion of mankind."

Here the Court was ſtruck with much awe, and ſeemed to be impreſſed with a reſolve to act impartially-----but to return to the General's ſpeech——

" Now,

" Now, Gentlemen, conſider the words " of the order under which you ſit----re- " form the opinion of the Court of En- " quiry, and ſay, whether it is the *honor* " of Colonel Henley, or the honor of " America, by which your minds ought " to be impreſſed, when they proceed to " judgment in this cauſe. I cloſe with " that conſideration, as far as I can im- " impreſs it upon your breaſts----I truſt " they are replete and pregnant with juſ- " tice, honor, and duty to your profeſ- " ſion; and above all, with that glorious " whig principle, the words of which are " become almoſt a general motto in this " country, and the genuine ſubſtantial " practice of which I ſhall ever revere in " any country, *a due ſenſe of the general* " *rights of mankind.*" I truſt you have all " theſe qualities, and in that perſuaſion, " I cannot doubt what will be the iſſue " of the cauſe."

" After

After the General had finiſhed, the evidence for the priſoner was adduced, which went fully to ſubſtantiate the evidence of the witneſſes for the proſecution, making only this addition, that Reeves, &c. gave great provocation.---After the evidence for the priſoner was finiſhed, Colonel Henley read a paper, which he had ſigned, atteſted by the Judge Advocate, and declined ſaying any thing further in his defence.

Mr. Preſident and Gentlemen of the Court.

" I have particular reaſons, and in *my* " *own* apprehenſions very ſufficient, for " declining to ſay a ſingle word, in anſwer " to the illiberal abuſe thrown upon me, " and the palpable diſhonor done to my " country, by General Burgoyne, in this " Court.----It is, Mr. Preſident, a new " thing under the Sun, and, taken in all " its

" its circumſtances, totally without ex-
" ample

" The Judge Advocate will ſum up the
" evidence with ability and impartiality.
" Such is my conſciouſneſs of having done
" nothing through this whole affair, but
" what the honor and ſafety of my coun-
" try abſolutely required, that I ſhall reſt
" entirely ſatisfied with your deciſion, be-
" ing at the ſame time fully perſuaded,
" that the impartial public, at whoſe bar
" I ſtand, will join with you in acquitting
" me from all the injurious and illiberal
" charges of General Burgoyne, and that
" they will vindicate me for that huma-
" nity, characteriſtic of an American
" Officer, and with which the officers and
" ſoldiers of General Burgoyne's army
" have been treated, while I was honor-
" ed with the command of the Guards."

To

To this poor defence, which the Colonel and the Judge Advocate were ſeveral days in framing, with a review of the evidence in defence of the priſoner, the General made an immediate reply, which I muſt defer to my next, till when, I remain

Yours, &c.

LETTER LII.

Cambridge, in New England,
March 12th, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

NO doubt, long before you receive this, you will be anxious for the General's reply to the invective defence of the Colonel.—I therefore take up my pen, and only wish this had not to cross the Atlantic to ease your anxiety.

" *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the* " *Court.*"

" On the day of your last adjournment, " the Judge Advocate notified to me, that " the

" the Court had agreed I ſhould reply to " Colonel Henley's defence, but had di- " rected that the reply ſhould be made " immediately after the Colonel cloſed: " He added, that all intereſted are to at- " tend and come prepared.

" I did not judge, from the manner in " which the Court have treated me hither- " to, that in any inſtance they meant me " uncandidly. I therefore ſuppoſe, that " when they made it a point I ſhould " come prepared to anſwer, off hand, ar- " guments which might have been a " month in framing, they ſaw the evi- " dence before them in ſo ſtrong a view, " that no argument, on my part, could " be neceſſary----Did I want further con- " fidence in this opinion, I could not fail " of deriving it in a moſt ample degree, " from the conduct of the priſoner, who " has been juſt now conſtrained, by his " ſituation, to ſubſtitute invective for ar-

" gument, and to recriminate, where it " was impoſſible to defend. Under the " ſanction of the Court, and the circum- " ſtances of the time, this *candid* Gentle- " man has ventured to make uſe of terms " to which my ears have not been accuſ- " tomed; but he is miſtaken if he thinks " to draw from me an intemperate reply; " on the contrary, as conductor of this " proſecution, I have rather to thank him " for his aſſiſtance. After having furniſh- " ed me, during the whole courſe of what " is called his defence, with evidence to " corroborate the facts alledged againſt " him, he at laſt ſteps forth a volunteer " witneſs (the moſt undeniable one ſure " that ever came before a Court) to prove " the heat of his own temper, which is of " itſelf a material part of his accuſation. " This remark is the only return I ſhall " at preſent addreſs to the priſoner, for " the expreſſions he has uſed; but I can- " not quit the ſubject, without ſeriouſly

" appealing

" appealing to the recollection of the " Court, whether, from the outſet, I did " not, in the moſt poſitive terms, diſavow " all perſonal reſentment, and whether " the ſtrongeſt language which the courſe " of my duty, as proſecutor, led me to " uſe, did not invariably ariſe from the " facts, and apply to the offence more " than to the offender. I make the ſame " appeal againſt the accuſation of "*having done palpable diſhonor to the country in this Court.*" Is it to do palpable diſ- " honor to a country to appeal to the " juſtice of it?----It puzzles my intellects " to conceive the meaning of this laſt ex- " preſſion; but indeed, Sir, I want no " other vindication than your ſilence, to " prove that I have not abuſed the lati- " tude I poſſeſſed in either caſe; for would " you, Mr. Preſident, or any member of " the Court, have ſuffered a proſecutor to " inſult an unhappy man, under trial, " with illiberal abuſe? Still leſs would

" you have ſuffered the country to be " treated opprobiouſly. It is for Colonel " Henley to reconcile with his reſpect to " the Court, charges, which if founded, " would be a general reflection upon their " conduct.

" I underſtand great expectation has " been raiſed of a very elaborate defence " on the part of Colonel Henley, and ac- " knowledge I myſelf little thought he " would throw up his cauſe quite ſo con- " feſſedly, though I was always ſure, that " neither ingenuity nor ſophiſtry, nor all " the talents which the ableſt counſel " could aſſiſt him with, would be ſuffi- " cient to effect the great leading propoſi- " tion upon which I ground myſelf, as " upon an immoveable rock, viz. that the " proofs on the part of the proſecution " do not only remain unimpeached, but " are augmented and enforced in the moſt

" material

" material parts, by the evidence produced
" in the defence.

" Gentlemen, a very few obſervations
" will ſuffice to juſtify this aſſertion.

" The firſt part of the charge which the
" priſoner brings evidence to oppoſe, is
" that concerning Coporal Réeves, on the
" 19th of December, and the firſt evidence
" is Major Sweaſey, an officer of rank and
" truſt in your army, warm in the pre-
" ſent unhappy conteſt, and naturally
" impreſſed with inclinations to favor his
" countryman, his brother officer and
" friend. Yet, with all theſe circum-
" ſtances to bias (ſuch is the force of
" truth and honor upon that gentleman's
" mind) he proves to be the ſtrongeſt wit-
" neſs of the whole trial, on the ſide of
" the proſecution.

" The beginning of this Gentleman's " relation is a confirmation of all the lead- " ing circumſtances mentioned by the " other witneſſes. The firſt new matter " of evidence is, that when he, the Major, " told Reeves he was a raſcal, the Corporal " made a reply to him (not to Colonel " Henley) he was no more a raſcal than " he was, at which he raiſed his whip, " and told him, if he did not hold his " impertinence, he would ſtrike him.— " One circumſtance of this part of the " evidence cannot paſs obſervation, viz. " that the poor Corporal had two ag- " greſſors to anſwer inſtead of one.—The " word, and the menaces attending that " word *Raſcal*, came to his ears on both " ſides. Another circumſtance is equally " obſerveable, and it ſtands upon your pro- " ceedings, as a record of honor to Major " Sweaſey, that his warmth of temper was " moved at the recital of Reeves's offence, " to give a ſharp rebuke, and to uſe an

" opprobrious

" opprobrious expreſſion, but the idea of " chaſtiſement went no further than a " ſtroke with a riding-whip—Happy had " it been for the priſoner had he followed " ſo temperate an example.

" The Major's narrative proceeds in re- " ſpect to Colonel Henley's diſmounting, " catching the firelock and ſtabbing " Reeves, in conformity to all the wit- " neſſes for the proſecution, except that " the circumſtance of ordering one of the " guard to run the Corporal through is " omitted, and his recollection being called " to that circumſtance, by a queſtion in " the croſs-examination, he replies, " *He* " *did not hear him*" (but with a candor " and tenderneſs to his oath, which never " departs from him) he adds, " *He* MIGHT " *have given ſuch an order and I not hear it.*

" The foregoing evidence, therefore, " is not ſhaken by any contradiction, but

" it

" it is immediately after augmented by an
" entire new circumſtance, viz. that after
" the firſt thruſt, upon Reeves's ſtill talk-
" ing to Colonel Henley, he ſtepped back,
" and made a motion to cock the firelock,
" and added, he would blow his brains
" out, or words to that effect, when a
" Britiſh ſoldier took hold of the firelock
" and threw it up. I requeſt the Court
" to take notice, that Major Sweaſey, un-
" called upon by any leading queſtion,
" remembers that act which ſaved Reeves
" from a ſecond thruſt, accompanied per-
" haps with fire. Can any doubt be now
" entertained of Colonel Henley's reſolu-
" tion? I think I have proof they were
" obvious to Major Sweaſey, at the time,
" by the very remarkable part of the evi-
" dence, " *I then got off my horſe* (a con-
" duct worthy his character, expreſſive of
" his apprehenſions and his humanity)
" *and begged Colonel Henley to ſend Reeves*
" *to the Guard-houſe.*"——The other peti-
" tioners

" tioners joined their interceſſion, and the
" man's life at laſt was ſaved.

" It may perhaps be objected to this
" argument, that Major Sweaſey, upon
" being aſked, in the croſs-examination,
" whether he thought Colonel Henley
" made a thruſt with an intent to injure
" or to ſilence the Corporal; anſwers, to
" ſilence him; for if he had puſhed his
" arm forward, he would have run him
" through.

" And in another place he makes uſe of
" the words, " to ſtill him.

" I ſcorn to inſinuate, that a witneſs
" of the Major's deſcription meant to keep
" a ſalvo upon his mind, and purpoſely to
" uſe any term of ambiguity. I upon my
" honor believe, that when the Major
" makes uſe of the words to ſilence or to
" ſtill, he means to terrify him till he held

" his

" his tongue; but I beg leave to obſerve,
" that great difference might be made in
" the Major's opinion, between the time
" the act was committed, and the time
" his ſentiments are aſked in Court.—The
" converſation with Colonel Henley, the
" belief of his other friends, and the can-
" dor of his own heart now perſuaded
" him, that the Colonel's intents were in-
" nocent. His own interference and in-
" terceſſion mark his doubts, at leaſt at
" the time, and did they not, the Court
" will hold themſelves bound to act upon
" their own opinion, formed upon com-
" bination and compariſon of circum-
" ſtances, and not upon the opinion of
" another, which is no evidence. They
" will alſo recollect, that this opinion
" goes only to the firſt ſtab, and is formed
" upon its not being forcible. It does
" not appear that the Major formed any
" opinion, nor indeed could he, upon
" what force would have been the ſecond
" ſtab

" ſtab of a man riſing in a paſſion, had
" it not been prevented by ſeizing the
" bayonet and his interceſſion.

" It is not neceſſary to trouble the
" Court with a review of any other parts
" of this upright evidence, which is long.
" The anſwers to the croſs queſtions in
" general go to a full confirmation of the
" narrative, with this one addition and
" aggravation of Colonel Henley's con-
" duct, that the Major thinks the lan-
" guage of Reeves was addreſſed more to
" himſelf than the Colonel, till after
" the ſtab.

" Captain Wild, of the Militia, is the
" next witneſs, and confirms the excuſe
" of Reeves, and every other circumſtance
" in the beginning of the affair, as ſtated
" by the former witneſſes, and by Major
" Sweaſey, except the ſmall difference that
" Colonel Henley, not Major Sweaſey,
" firſt

" firſt made uſe of the word Raſcal. He " mentions afterwards another new cir- " cumſtance, that the prior witneſs had " forgot, viz. " *Reeves turning to Buchanan,* " *and damning him, ſaying, why don't you* " *ſtand up for your King and Country.*—— " *Buchanan deſired him to be ſtill. Reeves* " *replied, God damn them all, I'll ſtand up* " *for my King and Country while I have life;* " *if I had arms and ammunition I would* " *ſoon be with General Howe and be re-* " *venged.*"----He afterwards relates, in a " very circumſtantial manner, making the " puſh at Reeves; " Reeves ſtepped back " one foot, but the bayonet pricked him," " and the lifting up the piece a ſecond " time, and Buchanan ſeizing it and turn- " ing it aſide.

" Upon the croſs queſtioning, the wit- " neſs gives nearly the ſame anſwers as " Major Sweaſey, upon the matter of opi- " nion of Colonel Henley's intention, and

" of

" of not hearing Colonel Henley order " a man of the guard to run Reeves " through, before he diſmounted, but " repeating the firſt, the manner in which " this Gentleman expreſſes himſelf is re- " markable: " *I believe you only meant* " *to ſilence him, as you ſpoke mildly, till* " *Reeves ſaid, God damn them all.*" That " Captain Wild thought the Colonel was " in a paſſion afterwards, is clear from " his anſwer to the queſtion, " *whether* " *it is a rule in the Continental ſervice, to* " *ſilence men by the bayonet or ſword*; when " he replied, *it is not, but when a man's* " *temper is raiſed, he is apt to do things he* " *would not at other times.*

" I cannot quit this evidence, without " claſſing it with Major Sweaſey's, and " while it does honor to the witneſs, in " point of truth and candour, it is to be " remarked, that it is alſo exceedingly cir- " cumſtantial, new and leading circum-

" ſtances

" ſtances are remembered, none forgot,
" except the order to the guard, and the
" Court will ſee by and by, why I ſo ſolicit
" their attention to theſe remarks.

" The witneſſes that follow are indeed
" of a very different ſort; the Court will
" recollect the appearance of the firſt,
" Corporal Dean, he told his ſtory very
" fluently, with that remarkable new
" incident of provocation in Corporal
" Reeves, who, he ſwears poſitively, ſaid
" to Colonel Henley,—" *If I am a raſcal,*
" *you are a damned raſcal*; but after all this
" fluency and recollection, upon his croſs
" queſtioning, neither encouragement, nor
" admonition, nor patience, nor leading
" queſtion, could draw an anſwer that
" any man could underſtand; and parti-
" cularly the Court will remember his
" ſilence and his countenance, when preſſed
" to declare his ſentiments upon the obli-
" gation of an oath; I will not be ſo un

" candid

" candid as poſitively to pronounce upon
" guilt from appearance, but it is the great
" value of parole evidence, that a Court
" may ſee the manner, and thence form a
" judgment upon the credibility of a wit-
" neſs.—From what probable cauſe did the
" confuſion of this man ariſe?—It was
" not the awe of the Court; and it is fair
" to ſuppoſe it is a weakneſs of under-
" ſtanding; conſequently he was a fit ſub-
" ſubject to be tutored, and if not wilfully
" perjured, led into a belief of more than
" he actually ſaw and heard.

" He is followed by a ſtring of the beſt
" inſtructed young men that ever related
" a ſtory in public---Elijah Horton, Silas
" Moſs, James Brazer, Wedſworth Hor-
" ton, and John Beny, moſt of them lads
" of ſixteen years of age.

" I need not recall to the Court the pre-
" ciſion of the recital of theſe youths, nor

" the manner of their delivery.---It was
" the exact tone and repetition of a fable
" at ſchool, and ſo well was the leſſon got
" by heart, that there was not a ſingle
" difference in the arrangement, and ſcarce
" a ſyllable miſplaced. But it is not only
" in the ſimilitude of memory theſe youths
" are extraordinary, they are equally re-
" markable in the preciſion of their for-
" getfulneſs, with a recollection ſo acute,
" as to repeat verbatim a long ſtory of
" Corporal Reeves, and the marked ex-
" preſſion of " *damned raſcal*" to Colonel
" Henley; not one ſyllable was heard by
" any Britiſh witneſs, nor by thoſe atten-
" tive, circumſtantial, reſpectable witneſſes
" Major Sweaſey and Captain Wild; not
" one of the whole five can remember a
" word or circumſtance reſpecting the
" Colonel's *damning Reeves's king and*
" *country, attempting a ſecond paſs, and*
" *being prevented by Buchanan's ſeizing*
" *the firelock*; to all of which all the

" other

" other witneſſes have poſitively ſworn.---
" Upon the whole, I contend, that no
" contradiction of witneſſes could invali-
" date their teſtimony more than ſuch an
" exact conformity in circumſtances, ſen-
" tences and words, when it was for the
" purpoſe of five perſons to recollect the
" ſame ſtory, and an equal conformity in
" the want of recollection in circum-
" ſtances, that muſt indiſpenſibly have
" been as manifeſt to their obſervation, as
" to that of any other witneſs.

" I owe an apology to the Court for
" having dwelt upon the invalidation of
" theſe witneſſes longer than was neceſ-
" ſary; for the weakneſs of their inſtruc-
" tor, whoever he has been, has counter-
" acted his wickedneſs, and it would do
" no harm to this proſecution, to give a
" full ſcope to their teſtimony, becauſe
" there is no maxim in law more clearly
" laid down, and more generally under-

" ſtood, than that " *no affront by words or* " *geſtures only is a ſufficient provocation, ſo* " *as to excuſe or extenuate ſuch acts of vio-* " *lence as manifeſtly endanger the life of* " *another.*

" The next matter to which the wit- " neſſes in defence have gone, is the ſtab- " bing of Trudgett on the 8th of January, " and there likewiſe their teſtimony has " ſerved to aggravate, inſtead of contra- " dicting the charge. Serjeant Kettle, in " particular, expreſsly ſays, he thought the " ſoldiers *deſerved ſtabbing*, as they would " not get out of the way; and in another " place, that laughing and ſneering *as it* " *were* (which he acknowledges was the " only provocation) was ſufficient to juſ- " tify ſtabbing.

" I ſhall give the Court no trouble upon " the evidence brought to prove the *pro-* " *vocation* of a reſcue; the eſcape of

" Buchanan

" Buchanan was not heard without a " ſmile in Court, nor can it be ſeriouſly " commented on, except in the anſwer " of Eſell Pierce, a lad of ſixteen, to " the Judge Advocate, who aſked him " whether he thought he run the Britiſh " ſoldier into the body; " *I believe I did* " (ſays he triumphantly) *I puſhed as hard* " *as I could, and with a good will—he cried* " *out God damn you.*" This is but one of " ſeveral inſtances that might be ſelected " from theſe proceedings, to ſhew the de- " gree of rancor to which the minds of " the American ſoldiers were excited. " Children that had ſcarcely loſt the taſte " of their mother's milk, acquired a thirſt " for blood----among thoſe from whom " they took the example; the Colonel " thinks a man deſerves death if he looks " ſulky; the Serjeant thinks the ſame if " he ſmiles. Good God! What is the " value of a Britiſh life, at ſuch a time, " in ſuch hands.

"In a former part of these proceedings, "I expressed my desire that the Judge-"Advocate would explain to the Court "the established principles of law, respect-"ing absent persons being accessaries to "offences which they have in any man-"ner influenced, and almost every sen-"tence that has fallen from the last wit-"ness upon the affair of Trudgett, is a "new call to press the consideration of "those principles. I am persuaded the "learned gentleman will not contradict "me, in the few more leading proposi-"tions I shall add to those I mentioned on "a former occasion, First, "*Any man* "*advising, influencing, or countenancing ano-*"*ther, be it by words, reward or example,* "*to do mischief, is an accessary at a distance.* "Secondly, *Though mischief is committed* "*by different means than those proposed be-*"*tween instigator and perpetrator; for in-*"*stance*-----A. *persuades* B. *to poison* C. *he* "*kills him by any other means*; A. *is acces-*"*sary.*

" *ſary.* Thirdly, *When the principal goes*
" *beyond the term of ſolicitation, if in the*
" *event the miſchief committed was a proba-*
" *ble conſequence of what was ordered or ad-*
" *viſed, the perſon giving ſuch orders or ad-*
" *vice will be acceſſary.*

" Apply the above maxims:—Colonel
" Henley directs his men only to knock
" down any Britiſh ſoldier, who they think
" looks ſulky at them (you have ſeen that
" he often thought a much greater puniſh-
" ment was due for ſuch a crime as a ſulky
" look) but we will ſuppoſe, he only or-
" ders them to knock a man down, or *to*
" *prick him* or *ſtill him*, and a ſoldier fires
" down a common road, ſticks his bayonet
" into one, and ſtrikes at the brains of
" another with the butt of his firelock,
" Colonel Henley is a party to the miſ-
" chief, whatever it may be, and upon a
" continuation of the principle laid down
" before,---" *The advice, orders or influence,*

" *are flagitious on the part of* A---*the events*
" *falling out beyond his original intention,*
" *are in the ordinary courſe of things the pro-*
" *bable conſequence of what* B. *does under the*
" *influence, and at the inſtigation of* A.---*and*
" *therefore, in the juſtice of the law, he is*
" *anſwerable for them.*

" So much, Sir, for the enormities com-
" mitted under the orders, influence, en-
" couragement and example of Colonel
" Henley, when he was not preſent; as
" for the reſt, it is needleſs for me to fol-
" low the witneſſes brought by the Colonel
" through all the parts, wherein they ſe-
" verally and diſtinctly confirm the former
" evidence, upon the charges reſpecting
" the attempt upon Wilſon in the Colo-
" nel's ſight, and of the ſtabbing Hadley
" with his own hands.—I ſhall only re-
" mark one very ſtriking circumſtance, a
" little previous to the latter fact, which
" came out upon the ſecond examination

" of

" of that very honorable and ſenſible gen-
" tleman, Major Sweaſey.——After Bu-
" chanan had run away, Colonel Henley
" (having firſt ordered ſome men to load,
" and put himſelf at the head of the whole
" detachment) aſked Major Sweaſey what
" method he thought they ſhould take to
" recover Buchanan: the Major ſaid "*the*
" *beſt way would be to acquaint the Britiſh*
" *Commanding Officer on the Hill, and he*
" *made no doubt but he would give him up im-*
" *mediately.*" The Major went with a
" meſſage from Colonel Henley to Major
" Foſter, the Britiſh officer then com-
" manding, who ordered the man to be
" ſought for and confined.-----I ſtate this
" circumſtance to ſhew, not only what
" was the proper and ready method of
" avoiding differences and ill blood in
" fact, but alſo to ſhew that this method
" was proper in the judgment of your
" own temperate officers.-----The Major
" proceeds to ſay, that Colonel Henley ap-

" peared

" peared perfectly satisfied with the an-
" swer he brought from Major Foster, but
" it is well worthy remark, that the vio-
" lent act of stabbing Hadley, was com-
" mitted in the interim of Major Sweasey's
" leaving Colonel Henley and his return.

" The whole stress of the evidence upon
" the defence I have not remarked upon,
" goes to one single point, viz. to prove
" provocation. I have admitted that a
" centry was knocked down, as I readily
" admit every slighter provocation alledg-
" ed, and shall not give a moment's trou-
" ble to the Court, in addition to what I
" argued and quoted in a former part of
" the proceedings upon this subject, from
" undeniable authority of law----I assume
" it to be undeniable, because I under-
" stand, gentlemen, that the criminal and
" common law of England, as well as great
" part of the Statute Law, are, notwith-
" standing your present separation, in
" force

" force and practice in your Government,
" and that your articles of war are almoſt
" tranſcripts from ours.

" The maxims then, to which I have
" alluded will hold equally good in martial
" and other judicatures.

" I have only, Sir, to revert to the lead-
" ing propoſition, and affirm that the
" charges are proved in the fulleſt man-
" ner, even by the priſoner's witneſſes.
" It is not for me to ſuggeſt an opinion
" upon the nature of puniſhment. I
" ſcorn the idea of feeling joy from the
" moſt rigorous ſentence; and the moſt
" perfect acquittal would not harm me
" further, than that ſuch an example
" might continue the inſecurity of the
" troops. Inflexible and impartial juſtice,
" and rigid diſcipline, are the vital prin-
" ciples upon which a Republic riſes to
" maturity, and eſtabliſhes itſelf in reſpect

" and

" and fame——Should the Court, upon
" due reflection, find theſe principles re-
" concileable with lenity in the preſent
" caſe, and the great tribunal of the world
" be of a contrary judgment, this cauſe
" cannot be ſaid to have miſcarried.

" As to the diſpleaſure which this pro-
" ſecution may bring upon me, I fear, in
" the preſent temper of this part of the
" country, it is not to be avoided. I
" ſtand in this circle, at beſt an unpopular,
" with the ſanguine enemies of Britain,
" perhaps an obnoxious character. This
" ſituation, though diſagreeable, does not
" make me miſerable. I wrap myſelf in
" the integrity of my intentions, and can
" look round me with a ſmile. Implaca-
" ble hatred is a ſcarce weed in every ſoil,
" and ſoon is overcome and loſt, under
" the fairer and more abundant growth of
" cultivated humanity.—To the multitude
" who only regard me with the tranſient

" anger

" anger that political opinions and the oc-
" currences of the time occaſion, I retain
" not a thought of reſentment, becauſe I
" know the diſpoſition and hour will
" come, when *ſteadineſs of principle*, that
" favorite characteriſtic in America, will
" recommend me amongſt my worſt ene-
" mies: As Chriſtians I truſt they will
" forgive me; in ſpite of prejudice I know
" they will reſpect me.

" But from the preſent reſentful ſenti-
" ments of this audience, ſhould I carry
" my apprehenſion further, and ſuppoſe
" it poſſible that miſapprehenſion or miſ-
" repreſentation of my conduct, ſhould
" operate upon the ſupreme rulers of this
" country to treat me with ſeverity, I hope
" I ſhould ſtill find myſelf prepared.---Let
" ſuſpenſion be added to ſuſpenſion, and
" health and fortune, and fame, and life,
" become ſucceſſive forfeits in this lingering
" war—I ſhall lay at laſt down my devoted

" head

" head with this conſolitary reflection,
" that I have done what I ought----that I
" have performed to the beſt of my power
" my duty to my country, to the Britiſh
" troops under my charge, and to my-
" ſelf----and above all, it will be conſola-
" tion to reflect, that however miſinter-
" preted or abuſed, I have acted in all
" inſtances, and ſpecifically in this trial,
" without a ſpark of private malice to-
" wards any individual ſoever. With this
" declaration I opened, with the ſame I
" conclude, and have only to aſſure the
" Court of my acknowledgements for the
" patience, the attention, and the civility
" which they have heard me."

Common juſtice—the laws of Nature and of arms, were never more forcibly depicted, that in this flight of ingenuity and of eloquence, in which nothing appeared more conſpicuous than truth, nor blazed higher than humanity—determined

prejudice

prejudice and enthuſiaſtic rage alone could withſtand it—you might read conviction itſelf in every face, aſhamed to be convicted—and ſee, what will perhaps never be ſeen again, the bluſh of conſciouſneſs on the cheek of an American——for black as their hearts are, their countenance ſeldom betrays them.---Theſe are my ſentiments, abſtracted from party or intereſt, God ſend I may have reaſon to change them.

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER LIII.

Cambridge, in New England,
March 20, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

BY this time you are become highly intereſted for the iſſue of this trial, and therefore I ſit down to give you the Judge Advocate's reply, and the ſentence of the Court. After the General had finiſhed his ſpeech, Mr. Tudor, the Judge Advocate, a little vain conceited fellow, in a pert flippant manner, addreſſed the Court as follows:

"Mr.

" *Mr. Preſident, and Gentlemen of the*
" *Court.*

" It has at laſt become my duty to ſum
" up theſe proceedings, which by accidents
" and other unavoidable cauſes, have been
" drawn on to this period; they have ex-
" cited much talk and public diſquiſition,
" but have acquired greater force from the
" abilities of the proſecutor, than from
" their real merits.

" Pains have been taken, and every al-
" luring art has been uſed to perſuade the
" Court to conſider what may be the po-
" pular opinion in other countries; but,
" gentlemen, though it was neceſſary for
" the *public honor*, that Colonel Henley
" ſhould be removed from his command,
" that firſt a Court of Enquiry, and then
" a Court-martial ſhould be held, you will
" now regard the merits as they affect the
" Officer under trial, and the ſervice of the
" States alone.-----The Court ſits upon

" truth and honor, the ſtrongeſt ties upon " ſoldiers; you will decide upon thoſe " motives, and upon juſtice, and your pro- " ceedings will ever remain a teſtimony " againſt any men who would dare to ac- " cuſe you of partiality.

" It is now my duty to ſtate the facts " as they riſe from the evidence, ſtripped " of all that meretricious colouring which " uncommon ingenuity and refined elo- " quence have thrown upon it. It is not " my intention to catch the crowd by " well turned periods; I am ſenſible of " my deficiency.-----I am an American, " warmly attached to my country, known " to be a friend to the priſoner---yet, not- " withſtanding thoſe reaſons may with the " jealous ſubject me to cenſure, I ſhall " endeavour to preſerve as impartial a line " as poſſible----I am determined in this " cauſe to be of no party.

" Inſinuations

" Inſinuations of a general maſſacre " have been dreſſed out in all the pomp " which attic language could give, and " wanted only truth to have made it felt " as far as the public were concerned. It " is unneceſſary to ſay more upon that " ſubject; I have endeavoured to reduce " the other charges into method, and " propoſe to ſeparate them into five facts, " in all of which Colonel Henley is con- " ſidered as a principal or an acceſſary.

" The firſt is as a principal, with re- " ſpect to ſtabbing, wounding, or prick- " ing (for it has been called by each of " theſe terms) Corporal Reeves, of the " ninth regiment.

" The next is to prove a Provincial " Serjeant having ſtabbed Thomas Trud- " gett, of the twenty-fourth regiment; " Colonel Henley in this appears only an " acceſſary.

" The third is the ſtabbing of Wilſon, " in which likewiſe he is conſidered as an " acceſſary.

" The fourth fact alludes to the ſtab- " bing Corporal Hadley, in which Colonel " Henley is a principal.

" The laſt contains a general principle, " not only of all the American officers " being bloodily inclined towards the Bri- " tiſh troops, but that Colonel Henley " foſtered and encouraged principles of " this bloody nature.

" The evidence, gentlemen, muſt be " read, and I ſhall firſt read that of the " proſecution, and then that in ſupport " of the defence, fact by fact.

" The firſt fact is with reſpect to Colo- " nel Henley's ſtabbing Reeves (*here he* " *read the evidence on both ſides.*)——It " may

" may be neceſſary to mention a few cir-
" cumſtances.

" It appears from the evidence of Major
" Sweaſey, that Colonel Henley went to
" the barracks with the temper of a man
" going to gratify benevolent feelings.

" The priſoners were ordered out and
" paraded, and the Colonel addreſſed them
" mildly.

" The Court ſits to judge of the credi-
" bility of the witneſſes; there may be
" characters of ſo ſuſpicious a nature that
" though they cannot be abſolutely ac-
" cuſed of perjury, yet circumſtances ap-
" pear ſtrong againſt them.

" The Court will be pleaſed to recol-
" lect, that Buchanan was afterwards the
" means of getting Hadley ſtabbed, and
" the Court will give what regard they

" chuſe to the credibility of his teſtimony:
" Upon the whole, it appears, that Reeves
" behaved with great inſolence. It may
" be collected, that his looks and manners
" were more provoking than his words,
" which may frequently be the caſe, yet
" with all this provocation, there is no
" reaſon to ſuppoſe the Colonel even in-
" tended more than to frighten him to
" ſilence; the very act ſhews it, the
" bayonet was placed againſt his breaſt,
" not thruſt with violence; this appears
" from the teſtimony of many witneſſes,
" and the arguments to invalidate ſome
" of them are very uncommon, viz. that
" they have exactly agreed. I beg the
" Court to recollect with what an air of
" ſincerity, as well as acuteneſs, one of
" the youths, in particular, gave his evi-
" dence: His ingenious manner muſt have
" made an impreſſion.

" The

" The General has called upon me to
" explain, whether Colonel Henley's dif-
" mounting and taking a firelock was not
" malice *propenſe* in law? I think not, for
" the act that followed it ſeemed not the
" effect of any malicious intention.

" The next fact is the ſtabbing Trud-
" gett." *(Here he read the evidence on both ſides.)*

" A great deal of ſtreſs has been laid
" upon the doctrine of accomplice, and
" the General has argued with a know-
" ledge and ingenuity that would do credit
" to the ableſt of my profeſſion; but the
" doctrine does not apply, becauſe there
" is no proof nor reaſon to ſuppoſe that
" the Colonel had given ſuch orders, or
" uſed ſuch influence as to excite men to
" acts of violence. His written orders
" indeed prove the direct contrary; and
" if a ſuperior in command is reſponſible

" for every action committed by his in-
" feriors, as well might we make the Ge-
" neral a party in the murder of Miſs
" Macrea (the cataſtrophe of this young
" Lady I mentioned in a letter to you
during the campaign) " becauſe the In-
" dians who committed that murder, were
" under the General's orders; an act of
" which I believe he ſtands acquitted in
" the opinion of every perſon."

I think you will coincide in opinion, that the Judge Advocate plainly evinced his profeſſion, as I think the compariſon can in no degree hold good: one was in time of hoſtilities, where two parties are oppoſing each other; the other at a time when a ſet of men, unarmed, priſoners, are in a peaceable country, and amenable to the laws of the State for any crime they committed, therefore could only be meant as an obloquy againſt the General.

" The

" The next fact, which is that of ſtab-
" bing Wilſon, you will find depends
" much upon the reſcue of Buchanan.
" The Court will judge whether this was
" a reſcue or not; if it was one, I will
" maintain that Colonel Henley, excluſive
" of his military command, conſidered
" only as a private magiſtrate, in peace-
" able times, was juſtified by law and
" cuſtom in putting to death any perſon
" who attempted to force a priſoner out
" of cuſtody; and this leads to the con-
" ſideration of the principal, and I muſt
" confeſs the moſt unaccountable tranſ-
" action, the ſtabbing of Hadley. *(Evi-*
dence on both ſides read.)

" It muſt be acknowledged, that Co-
" lonel Henley acted in this affair with a
" degree of warmth which his beſt friends
" cannot defend, and it muſt reſt with
" the Court to combine the various cir-
" cumſtances of his ſituation, and to con-
" ſider

" ſider the nature and extent of the pro-
" vocations he received. If they can ſup-
" poſe a man capable of deliberately and
" wantonly running an innocent man
" through the body, they will be bound
" by their oaths and their honor to inflict
" a proper puniſhment; on the other hand,
" if they think ſuch repeated provocation,
" ſuch inſolence and inſult, as were offered
" daily and hourly to the troops under his
" command, and particularly before his
" eyes, in the reſcue of Buchanan, they will
" make due allowances for a high ſpirited
" officer, animated in his duty and by re-
" ſentment for affronts offered to his
" country. As for the ſuppoſition that
" Colonel Henley foſtered and encouraged
" principles of a bloody nature by his ge-
" neral conduct, it needs no other con-
" futation than the want of any proof on
" the other ſide, and his general character.
" My friend is known to be of a warm
" temper; it muſt be allowed, warmth has

" carried

" carried him too far; but a more ge-
" nerous, honorable or humane man, does
" not live in the American, or any other
" army. The behaviour of the Britiſh
" troops in general, who, notwithſtanding
" their ſituation treated ours upon every
" occaſion with pride, contempt and out-
" rage, is notorious, and the inſtances
" were many which called upon an officer
" for inſtant and exemplary chaſtiſement.
" How little it was to be obtained by ap-
" plication to the Britiſh officers, appears
" by what paſſed with Colonel Lind, and
" by other parts of theſe proceedings."

Leaſt you might be led to imagine that the Britiſh officers were culpable, I ſhall quote part of Colonel Lind's evidence, to point out wherein the Judge Advocate had miſapplied the evidence. After proving the centry fired upon a woman, and with great difficulty got acceſs to the American officer that commanded, ſays Colonel

Lind,

Lind, " I related to him what had paſſed between the woman and the centry, begging he would order him to be confined, that the affair might be enquired into, *he told me he could not* (theſe are the words the Judge Advocate has applied *vice verſa)* and that the centries had particular orders to fire upon all women, as well as ſoldiers, who attempted to paſs them. I then obſerved that it was a very extraordinary order, that I was ſure General Heath could never intend that women ſhould be fired upon, and that it muſt have been a miſtake; he replied, that it was not his particular affair, that the centry had his orders, and I might ſeek redreſs elſewhere; we then parted.——This is the whole evidence of Colonel Lind, therefore I leave you to judge how it can have the leaſt affinity to what the Judge Advocate has inſinuated, that no redreſs was to be had from the Britiſh officers: but to the concluſion of his ſpeech.

" I will

" I will trouble the Court no longer---- " it may perhaps appear that I have plead- " ed for Colonel Henley more than I pro- " poſed when I began: He is, I confeſs, " my friend; the man I eſteem for the " goodneſs of his heart, for his ſpirit as " an officer, and the attachment to the " cauſe of his country; and if I have " erred in making myſelf more his coun- " ſel than counſel for the proſecution, I " have done ſo, becauſe I thought a cauſe " ſupported on one ſide by ſo able an ad- " vocate as General Burgoyne, required " every poſſible fair aſſiſtance on the " other."

Throughout the whole of the Judge Advocate's ſumming up the evidence, he has not taken the leaſt notice of the Colonel's ſpeech to Serjeant Fleming, which, in my opinion, points out his character very ſtrongly; nor has he confuted the witneſſes produced in ſupport of the proſecution,

ſecution, but wiſhes to impreſs the Court that Colonel Henley is a good man, and to take his word for it, as he is his particular friend.

This trial, which commenced the 20th of January, and by adjournments, was protracted till the 10th of February, you muſt naturally imagine, raiſed our anxiety, as no doubt it does yours, for the ſentence of the Court, when it was given to General Heath—but it was not given out 'till the 27th of February, thus you have it verbatim from our general orders.

Head Quarters, Boſton, Feb. 27, 1788.

EXTRACT FROM GENERAL ORDERS.

" Colonel David Henley, late Com-
" manding Officer of the poſt at Cam-
" bridge, tried at the Special General
" Court Martial, whereof Brigadier Ge-
" neral Glover was Preſident, accuſed by
" Lieutenant

" Lieutenant General Burgoyne, of a ge-
" neral tenor of language and conduct
" heinouſly criminal as an officer, and
" unbecoming as a man, of the moſt
" indecent, violent, vindictive ſeverity
" againſt unarmed men, and of an inten-
" tional murder.

" The Court, after mature conſidera-
" tion, are of opinion, that the charge
" againſt Colonel Henley is not ſupport-
" ed, and that he be diſcharged from his
" arreſt.

" The General approves the opinion of
" the Court, thanks them for their un-
" wearied endeavors to inveſtigate the
" truth, and orders Colonel Henley to
" reaſſume his command at Cambridge
" immediately.

" The General thinks it to be his duty,
" on this occaſion, to obſerve, that al-
" though

" though the conduct of Lieutenant Ge-
" neral Burgoyne (as profecutor againſt
" Colonel Henley) in the courſe of the
" foregoing trial, in his ſeveral ſpeeches
" and pleas may be warranted by ſome
" like precedents in Britiſh Court-martials,
" yet as it is altogether novel in the pro-
" ceedings of any general Court-martial
" in the army of the United States of
" America, whoſe rules and articles of
" war direct, that the Judge Advocate
" General ſhall profecute, in the name of
" the United States, and as different prac-
" tice tends to render Courts-martial both
" tedious and expenſive, he does proteſt
" againſt this inſtance being drawn into
" precedent in future.

" Signed J. KEITH, D. A. G."

In conſequence of this acquittal, Colonel Henley reaſſumed his command the next day, but merely for form ſake, as the next week Colonel Lee took the command, which

which he had when we firſt arrived. Affairs are much better regulated, every thing is now in perfect tranquillity, and a good underſtanding has taken place between our troops and the Americans.--- Colonel Lee has remedied one great evil, in which I cannot help thinking Colonel Henley was intereſted, which was compelling our ſoldiers to purchaſe all their proviſions at two ſtores in the barracks, and not permitting them to ſend to Cambridge, where they were much cheaper.— Paſſes have been granted for a Serjeant and ſo many men, to go out and purchaſe proviſions, by which means the ſtores cannot impoſe on the troops, and they now ſell their commodities at the market price. Having ſo long dwelt upon public affairs, you no doubt will be happy to hear ſomething relative to my own.

The reſolution of Congreſs in preventing our embarkation was a very ſevere

trial indeed, but we are now become more reconciled; and as Hope, that great ſupport through life, never forſakes us, we are in expectation that at the end of the enſuing campaign. we may in all probability be regularly exchanged; for my own part, I have made up my mind;—— and as I find Cambridge very expenſive, on account of the great number of officers who reſide there, I am going to remove my quarters to a farm houſe, near the town of Myſtic, in order to live a little reaſonable; we have had no pay ſince our arrival, but what has been in paper money, which lowers very faſt, ſo that you are compelled to purchaſe ſuch articles as you think you are in want of, otherwiſe your money will not be a third of the value it was at the time you received it. The exchange of hard money is now at the rate of forty and fifty paper dollars for a guinea. What muſt you think of the depreciation in theſe few months,

months, ſince we were made priſoners, when we could with difficulty get only nine. On account of unavoidable expences, and the depreciation of the paper currency, I have drawn on you for fifty pounds, which bill you will pleaſe to honor, and place to the account of

Your's, &c.

LETTER LIV.

Myſtic, in New England,
May 10, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IT has ever been a maxim in all ages, and unhappily formed upon experience, that events are ſeldom anſwerable to expectations; when we form to ourſelves a promiſing proſpect, how mortifying is a diſappointment—ſuch is our preſent ſituation; for after a ſecond application of General Burgoyne to Congreſs, to effect our liberty, in which ſtate of ſuſpence we have been for a length of time, he has at laſt received a poſitive denial

nial to his repeated ſolicitations. They have, however, on the 3d of laſt March, paſſed a reſolve, that Lieutenant General Burgoyne, on account of his ill ſtate of health, may have leave to embark for England; and ſhortly after this intelligence, he left the army for that purpoſe This final reſolution of Congreſs, makes our preſent ſituation very trying; however, we are forced to be contented, for the greater power bears the ſway all the world over.

From the converſation of a number of gentlemen of the firſt name and property, who were not quite ſo violent in their meaſure as a *Hancok* or an *Adams*; I have been thoroughly convinced, that none of them entertain the moſt diſtant thought of withdrawing from our Government at the commencement of hoſtilities, but now they have joined in that hereditary and ſettled hatred which the New Englanders in general ever entertained againſt the conſtitu-

tion of our country, both in Church and State, ever exclaiming againſt tyranny and perſecution, have aſſumed a power unmaſked, and are cruel inſolent and perſecuting; excluſive of their daily impriſoning and harraſſing the poor Loyaliſts, I think the trial of Colonel Henley ſufficiently marks their character.

The Spring is now far advanced, and the country around has a charming appearance; our attention to the many novelties that preſent themſelves is taken off by the variety of birds, whoſe plumage is peculiarly beautiful, the moſt remarkable are the Fire-bird, Hanging-bird, Blue-bird and Humming-bird.

The Fire-bird is ſomewhat larger than a ſparrow, and its plumage is of a fine deep yellow, reſembling a flame color, from whence it derives its name.

The

The Hanging-bird is of about the ſame ſize, of a brilliant orange, with a few black feathers in the wing, which forms a pleaſing contraſt: It appears as if this bird was ſenſible what enemies men, as well as other animals, are to the young of the feathered creation, for they conſtruct their neſts upon the extremity of a large bough, not in the nature of other birds, but ſuſpended at a conſiderable diſtance from the bough, reſembling a hornet's neſt; on one ſide there is a hole where the birds enter. It is ſomewhat remarkable that theſe neſts, though ſuſpended near two feet and a half from the branch of the tree, and that only by five or ſix ſmall cords which theſe birds make from the looſe hemp that they pick up, they are never blown down by the high winds. I was preſent at the taking of one of theſe neſts, and it was with great difficulty it could be diſengaged from the branch, without deſtroying the whole neſt. The young ones are the moſt tractable of

the feathered tribe, and in the hands of thoſe who would beſtow time and pains, they might be inſtructed in a variety of little tricks and fancies.

An officer, who was ill and confined to his room, being a great bird-fancier, had a neſt with theſe young ones brought him, which he amuſed himſelf with, and finding them tractable, he fed them with flies, for which they would follow him all round the room: in a ſhort time he had them in ſuch command, that they would at his deſire, retire to their neſt, and come out again either ſingly, or all three together: one he had ſuch ſway over, that he would take it into the garden, and let it fly into a tree, and the inſtant he called it, the bird flew and perched on his ſhoulder.

The Blue-bird is of the ſize, and nearly as numerous as the ſparrow; there is nothing remarkable about this bird but its plumage,

plumage, which is of the moſt beautiful mazarine, and when the rays of the Sun reflect on it, the color is greatly heightened.

The Humming-birds are in great plenty here, but not near ſo numerous, as I am informed, they are to the Southward.—— This bird being not only beautiful, but having many peculiarities, and being the leaſt of the feathered creation, not being much larger than an humble bee, you'll pardon my entering into a full detail of it.

The plumage of the cock is beautiful in the extreme, varying into an infinity of colour; in one light it is of a lively green, in another a beautiful blue, and in another a fine golden color: in ſhort, in every ray of light you can poſſibly turn it, you diſtinguiſh a different tint. This little creature ſubſiſts upon the juice of flowers, which it ſucks up with a long bill; it is

really

really diverting to ſee it putting its little bill into every flower in a circle; as ſoon as one is ſucked, it flutters to the next; during the ſucking the juice out of the flowers it never ſettles on them, but flutters continually like bees, and moves its wings ſo quick they appear hardly viſible, and during this fluttering make a humming noiſe. This bird is not very ſhy, but if you attempt to ſeize it, flies off with the ſwiftneſs of an arrow. You would hardly conceive how predominant the paſſion of envy is amongſt theſe little creatures; if ſeveral of them met on the ſame bed of flowers, they attack each other with ſuch an impetuoſity, that they ſeem as if they would pierce each other with their bills. In their combats they would often fly into a room if a window is open, fight a little, and flutter away again; they not only poſſeſs the paſſion of envy, but anger; for if they meet with a flower that is withered, or that is withering, and contains

tains no more juice, theſe little creatures, in a violent paſſion, pluck it off and throw it on the ground. I have ſeen in large gardens, where there has been many beds of flowers, the ground quite covered with the effects of their rage.

The Humming-bird being ſo exceeding ſmall, and very difficult to catch, I was greatly at a loſs to procure one to ſtuff and add to the collection I am making for you; ſenſible that firing at it with ſhot would ſhatter the little creature to atoms, I knew not what method to deviſe to obtain one, therefore conſulted the inhabitants, who informed me, they never caught them unleſs they flew into a room when the window was open; for a week and upwards I ſat in expectation that that would happen, during which time I employed my thoughts as to ſome other mode, when it occurred to me, if I loaded a piſtol with powder, and

put

put ſome fine ſand as a charge, I thought the great report would either ſtun them, or the grains of ſand would beat them down: and after my patience was quite exhauſted as to the other mode of catching them, I adopted my own, which I found ſucceeded to my wiſh; for ſeeing one alight upon a flower, I fired at it, and it fell with the flower, but was not killed, only ſtunned with the report; as ſhortly after I had taken it up, it was near eſcaping; what makes me imagine it was only ſtunned was, that the grains of ſand had not hurt even its feathers; but to aſcertain the matter, I procured ſeveral only by putting powder in the piſtol, which fully proved it was the report that had effect on them.

It is looked upon as a great rarity indeed, if the neſt of this little bird is found, and it is merely accidental, as they are only to be met with in ſwamps, when the trees

trees are very thick of foliage. Having procured the bird, I was anxious to obtain a neſt, as I no doubt imagined that it was equally as curious as the bird itſelf, but well knowing any ſearch that I could make would be in vain, I told ſeveral Negroes, who where cutting wood in a ſwamp, if they found a neſt and ſhewed it me I would give them a dollar; accordingly, one morning a negro came and informed me he had found one; I went with him into the middle of a large ſwamp, and ſtopping juſt by where he had been cutting ſome wood, he ſays, "Maſſa, Maſſa, dere is de neſt," which not being very eaſily diſcerned, he got a long pole and pointed to it, when even then I could not ſee it, perceiving nothing but moſs; but taking away his pole haſtily, he ſaid, "Maſſa, keep your eye dere, and you will ſee de old one;" and ſhortly after the old one came and ſettled on the neſt, between the forks of a bough; I aſcended the tree, and was then

as

as much at a loſs to find it till the negro pointed to it, and I ſaw the old one on the neſt: upon my approach ſhe flew off, and kept hovering and humming about my head. In the neſt there were two eggs; I cut off the branch the neſt was on, and deſcended the tree, but coming down the main ſtem, I had the misfortune to drop one of the eggs out of the neſt, as I was obliged to bring the branch it was on in my mouth, and although the negro and myſelf ſearched for it near an hour, we could not find it; I cannot but ſay I was heartily vexed, as the eggs are the greateſt curioſity: it is rather fortunate I have one left to ſend you, otherwiſe you would ſcarcely credit it, when I tell you, that although the bird, which, as I before mentioned, is not much larger than an humble bee, the eggs are nearly as large as a wren's.

Upon

Upon an examination of the neſt, I was not ſurprized at my diſcerning it with difficulty from the other moſs that grew on the tree, for the outſide has a coating of green moſs, ſuch as is commonly on old pales, enclоſures, and old trees; the neſt, as well as the bird, is the leaſt of all others; that which I have taken is round, and the inſide is of a brown and quite ſoft down, which ſeems to have been collected from the ſtems of the ſumach, which are covered with a ſoft wool of this color, and the plant grows in great abundance here; the inner diameter of the neſt is hardly a geometrical inch at the top, and the depth ſcarcely half an inch. I have taken peculiar care of it, as well as the neſt of the Hanging-bird, and ſhall ſend them by the firſt opportunity, and am ſure you will join with me in the adoration of that Being, who has endowed theſe creatures with ſuch natural inſtinct, to guard againſt the wiles of man and other enemies: but what

creature

creature is there either offenſive, or inoffenſive, but ſome of its ſpecies has fallen a victim to the rapacious hand of man.

A few days ſince, walking out with ſome officers, we ſtopped at a houſe to purchaſe vegetables, whilſt the other officers were bargaining with the woman of the houſe, I obſerved an elderly woman ſitting by the fire, who was continually eyeing us, and every now and then ſhedding a tear. Juſt as we were quitting the houſe ſhe got up, and burſting into tears, ſaid, "Gentlemen, will you let a poor diſtracted woman ſpeak a word to you before you go?" We, as you muſt naturally imagine, were all aſtoniſhed, and upon enquiring what ſhe wanted, with the moſt poignant grief and ſobbing as if her heart was on the point of breaking, aſked if any of us knew her ſon, who was killed at the battle of Huberton, a Colonel Francis. Several of us informed

informed her, that we had ſeen him after he was dead. She then enquired about his pocket-book, and if any of his papers were ſafe, as ſome related to his eſtates, and if any of the ſoldiers had got his watch; if ſhe could but obtain that in remembrance of her dear, dear ſon, ſhe ſhould be happy. Captain Ferguſon, of our regiment, who was of the party, told her, as to the Colonel's papers and pocket-book, he was fearful they were either loſt or deſtroyed; but pulling a watch from his fob, ſaid, "There, good woman, if that can make "you happy, take it, and God bleſs you." We were all much ſurprized, as unacquainted, as he had made a purchaſe of it from a drum-boy. On ſeeing it, it is impoſſible to deſcribe the joy and grief that was depicted in her countenance; I never in all my life, beheld ſuch a ſtrength of paſſion; ſhe kiſſed it, looked unutterable gratitude at Captain Ferguſon, then kiſſed it again; her feelings were inexpreſſible, ſhe knew

not how to expreſs or ſhew them; ſhe would repay his kindneſs by kindneſs, but could only ſob her thanks; our feelings were lifted up to an inexpreſſible height; we promiſed to ſearch after the papers, and I believe, at that moment, could have hazarded life itſelf to procure them.

You know, I ever had an averſion to tea, as being highly detrimental to the ſtomach, and always made uſe of ſome ſubſtitute, I have now adopted one, which the inhabitants make uſe of, ever ſince they made a virtue contrary to their inclinations, of not drinking tea at the time of the Boſton Port Bill, which is the flowers that grow upon the ſaſſafras tree; as to the efficacy of the root of this tree, in all ſcorbutic caſes, it is well known, I therefore conceive the flowers muſt have more virtue; the flavor that they produce is extremely delicious, greatly reſembling that of a peach: the

the ſaſſafras trees grow in abundance, they are ſcattered on the borders of the woods and near buſhes and incloſures; and are generally one of the firſt trees that ſpring up on uncultivated ground; the cows are extremely greedy after the ſhoots of the tree, and ſearch for them every where; if they are in an encloſure the cattle will knock down the fence to get at them; the women make uſe of the bark for dying worſted, which produces a beautiful orange that does not fade in the ſun.

In the beginning of this letter I mentioned that General Burgoyne is ſailed for England. No doubt, on his arrival, his enemies will be attacking him in all quarters, do not you be led away with the general voice and follow a miſled faction, the General, in every ſituation of danger and difficulty, ever had the confidence of the army; even in the late

recent affair of Colonel Henley's, they were perfectly ſatisfied with his efforts and exertions to procure them redreſs; many ill-minded and malicious perſons will aſſert that he has ſought his own eaſe and comfort and forſaken his diſtreſſed army: In that reſpect I can with the utmoſt confidence aſſert, that neither officer or ſoldier expreſſed diſſatisfaction at his return to England; ſo far from it, it was their wiſh he ſhould go to Europe to juſtify his own and their conduct. He has ſhared at all times the dangers and afflictions in common with every ſoldier; they look on him as their friend, and would receive him in perſon, or any accounts of him with marks of affection; and wiſhing you may be impreſſed with thoſe ideas, and hold it forth againſt all calumniators, I remain

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER LV.

Myſtic, in New England,
May 20th, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE intentions of Congreſs are very apparent as to our detention as priſoners, no doubt as hoſtages, in caſe of failure to the Southward the enſuing campaign, and apprehenſive that ſome diverſion may be made near Boſton, ſo that our ſoldiers might either be releaſed, or eſcape to any army that may make a landing. The Council of Boſton, under pretence that the troops would fare better, removed the firſt brigade of the Britiſh,

conſiſting of the artillery, advanced corps, and ninth regiment, on the 15th of laſt month from Proſpect Hill, to a place called Rutland, fifty-five miles further up the country, at which place they are to ſtay till further orders from Congreſs; the reſt of the Britiſh troops are ſhortly to follow; as to the Germans, the Americans look upon them ſo tame and ſubmiſſive, that they are to remain at their old quarters, on Winter Hill.

By an officer who came from Rutland, we learn, that the firſt brigade arrived there the 17th, about two o'clock; the men were ſent to barracks that were picketed in with pickets near twenty feet high, and had been treated with great ſeverity, very badly ſupplied with proviſions, and denied to go out for any thing amongſt the inhabitants. The officers with great difficulty obtained quarters in the neighbouring houſes, and thoſe at a

conſiderable

conſiderable diſtance from each other. It happened rather fortunately for the troops, that a veſſel under a flag of truce arrived with ſome neceſſaries juſt before they marched, otherwiſe the men would have been in a wretched ſtate.

We do not ſo readily procure neceſſaries from the country people as we were accuſtomed, having only Congreſs money to pay them for their commodities, for they entertain little opinion as to its value; and I am induced to think that the earneſt civility and deſire to oblige, which they firſt ſhewed us, proceeded from no other motive, than that they ſhould receive hard money in payment for their goods.

The trees are now in full bloſſom, and as every houſe has an orchard adjoining, the country looks quite beautiful; upon enquiry of the inhabitants, I find moſt of

the European fruits have degenerated in New England, except the apple, which it is ſaid, if it has not improved, it has multiplied exceedingly. I am the more induced to credit this, as the uſe of cyder is more common here, than in any other part of the world. Moſt of our roots and garden-ſtuffs have had good ſucceſs, but the ſeeds, either for want of proper care, or the methods of preſerving them, do not thrive ſo well; wheat is apt to be blighted, barley grows dry, and oats yield more ſtraw than grain; but to ſupply theſe defects, the maize, or Indian corn, thrives exceeding well, which is their grand ſtaple commodity, that ſupplies both themſelves and cattle: as to Indian corn, it is now ſo generally known in England, I ſhall not tire your patience with a long deſcription of it; but only obſerve, that were the heat more predominant in the ſummer months in England, I think it might eaſily be raiſed; its grain is certainly

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the heartieſt, and moſt ſtrengthening food for cattle and poultry, and gives their meat a firmneſs and exquiſite flavor. I am averſe to feeding horſes with it, for it makes them ſo liable to founder. A few days ago I ſaw an inſtance of its pernicious effects at an ordinary, where a man, being in liquor, and had rode hard, and his horſe exceedingly heated, would inſiſt on its being fed----the poor creature eat his meal very heartily, and in about two hours after was deprived of the uſe of all his limbs, and lay on the ground trembling and ſhaking every nerve; the only remedy that could be applied, was to take off his ſhoes, and drag him into a wet ſwamp, and it was near four days before the creature could ſtand on its legs, and then it walked very crippled; it grieved me much as it was a very fine blood horſe, that the owner had lately got from Virginia, which differ widely from the New England horſes; for they, of all the various breeds

of

of that noble animal, certainly are the moſt peculiar and diabolical to ride; the horſes in general have a pretty good head and neck, and from that to their rump, they fall off ſurpriſingly; they are all, without an exception, what is termed amongſt jockies, gooſe-rumped and cat-hamd; in a natural pace they will ſhuffle on for eight or nine miles an hour; it is not that eaſy kind of pacing that is taught ladies horſes, but an unaccountable wriggling gait, that till you are accuſtomed to it, you are more fatigued in riding two miles, than a whole day's fox-chace; in ſhort, you cannot poſſibly form a juſt idea of it, unleſs you were mounted on a New-England Roſinante, which title, they juſtly merit, for I aſſure you, they are very much *a la Quixote*; and to meet a New-Englander riding in the woods with his blazing iron (the term they give to a muſket or gun) you might miſtake him for the knight of the Woeful Countenance; their

horſes

horſes are of a very ſlender make, and not over fat, with a long ſwitch tail and mane down to the horſe's knees; for I ſhould obſerve to you, they never cut either, then the maſter, with his long legs, beſtrides it, which are in ſtirrups that the toe can but juſt reach; then his upright poſition, with his long lank viſage, and on his head an old grizely caxon and a large flapped hat, with his ſaddle-bags behind, and proviſion-bags before, and his blazing-iron on his ſhoulder; picture to yourſelf a man thus mounted, of ſuch an *outré* appearance, and forbear to laugh if you can.

Excluſive of Indian corn, the inhabitants plant great quantities of ſquaſhes, which is a ſpecies of pumpions or melons; the ſeed of it, when imported from Europe, by the firſt ſettlers, has ever ſince been cultivated with aſſiduity, and found to thrive much better than in Europe; the fruit has an agreeable taſte,

made

made uſe of at table as a vegetable, and dreſſed as turneps.

The ſoil of New-England is various, but I obſerved it was more profilic towards the Southward; there are excellent meadows in the low grounds, and good paſture almoſt every where; their beſt meadows will yield about a ton of hay by the acre; ſome will produce two, but that is what is termed timothy hay, which is rank and ſour. The country, as I before obſerved, is not favorable to any grain except the Indian corn; the cattle in New-England are very numerous, and ſome of them very large; hogs are likewiſe in great abundance, and particularly excellent, being fattened upon the Indian corn, and ſome ſo large as to weigh twenty-five ſcore.

We have of late been greatly amuſed in catching of ell-wives, or ale-wives, a ſpecies

cies of fiſh, greatly reſembling a herring, both as to make and flavor, but ſomewhat ſmaller; they come up all the creeks and inlets from the ſea at this ſeaſon to ſpawn, floating in with the tide in large ſhoals, and proceeding as far as they can for freſh water; when the tide is going out they return, at which time they are caught by means of nets faſtened round a hoop, and affixed to a long pole; the nets are very deep, and at one haul you may catch two or three dozen. It is part of the traffic of the inhabitants, who ſalt them down, and barrel them for the Weſt-Indies.

I need not tell you of a reſtleſs diſpoſition we Engliſh are of, and that we muſt be employed on ſomething, ſituated as we are, without books, newſpapers, or any other amuſement: ſome officers, who came from the Weſt of England, have inſtituted the diverſion of fighting of cocks; for my own part, you know, I ever eſteem-

ing

it a barbarous cuſtom, and a diſgrace to our nation, and cannot but ſay I was a little pleaſed at a reprimand that ſome officers met with from an old woman, to whom they had applied for a couple of fine birds that were in the yard, ſhe enquired if they were to fight, or to kill for eating; being told the former, ſhe in a moſt violent rage exclaimed, "I ſwear "now you ſhall have neither of them; I "ſwear now I never ſaw any thing ſo "bloodthirſty as you Britonions be; if "you can't be fighting and cutting other "people's throats, you muſt be ſetting two "harmleſs creatures to kill one another; "Go along, go; I have heard of your "cruel doings at Watertown (the place "where the cocks fought) cutting off the "feathers, and the poor creature's comb "and gills, and putting on iron things "upon their legs; go along, I ſay." I could not help laughing to ſee them decamp in haſte, as the old woman had worked herſelf into ſuch a paſſion, that

they

they expected ſhe would have ſtruck them with her crutch, which ſhe lifted up to give the greater energy to her language. This is the only inſtance in my memory, that can reflect credit on American humanity.

New-England produces very good timber, the woods and ſwamps abounding with oak, elm, aſh, cypreſs, pine, cheſnut, walnut, cedar, aſtrin, beach, fir, ſaſſafras, and ſumach, with all other kind of trees that grow in England; the firs are of an extraordinary growth, for maſts, yards and planks; the ſumach is much uſed by the tanners and dyers, and the cedar produces ſweet gums, beſides being extremely uſeful in making ſhingles for coverings to their dwellings, as being the moſt durable, and leaſt injured by the weather; but the treaſure and glory of the woods are the monarch oak, the ſpruce, and fir trees, which are in ſuch abundance, that the navy of England might be ſupplied with all ſorts of naval ſtores at a cheaper rate than

than from the Baltic; and it is on this account that they build more ſhips in this province, than all the other parts of America; and they have the reputation of being very well built and ſtrong; to this ſtrength is chiefly imputed their being ſuch bad ſailing veſſels.

To Europeans, the noiſe of the frogs, of which there are vaſt numbers, and of various ſpecies, is at firſt very alarming, and till accuſtomed, you are at a loſs to make out from whence ſuch a hideous noiſe proceeds, there are thirty different voices among them, ſome of which reſemble the bellowing of a bull. In order that you may conceive how numerous they are all over the continent, as likewiſe how clamorous, I ſhall relate a circumſtance which has been told me, and vouched for an abſolute fact by the perſon who related it.

One

One Summer night, in the month of July, 1758, the town of Windham, which ſtands on the borders of Winnomantic River, in Connecticut, was greatly alarmed by a number of theſe reptiles which were marching, or rather hopping in a body, from an artificial pond, near three miles ſquare, that, by the exceeding heat of the weather was dried up. This pond was about five miles from Windham, in their way to the Winnomantic, were under the neceſſity of keeping the road that led through the town; they entered about midnight; the bull-frog, as being the moſt powerful, in the front, the reſt following; they were ſo exceedingly numerous, that they were ſome hours paſſing through, and for want of water unuſually clamorous. The inhabitants were greatly terrified, and fled from their beds naked, near half a mile, imagining it was the French and Indians; the men, after a little recollection, finding no enemy in purſuit,

muſtered courage to return; when they came near the town, they imagined they diſtinctly heard the words *Wight*, *Helderkin*, *Dier*, *Tété*, which reſembles the noiſe they make, and in their fright they thought the laſt word meant *treaty*, when three of them, in their ſhirts, approached to treat with the General of the French and Indians; but being dark, and no anſwer given, their terrors were greatly encreaſed, and they were diſtracted between hope and fear; at length day appearing, they were eaſed from all their anxiety, by diſcovering that this terrific enemy was an army of frogs, dying with thirſt, going to the river for a little water. The people of Windham have ever ſince been laughed at for their timidity by the New-Englanders; but I really believe, in a ſimilar ſituation, theſe Yankees would not have felt themſelves much bolder.

At

At this ſeaſon of the year, every night you are ſurrounded with muſic, not the moſt harmonic, from frogs, bull-frogs, hooping-owls, and the *whipper will*, a bird ſo named by its nocturnal ſong, being a conſtant repetition of *whipper will*; it is alſo known by the name of the *Pope*, by reaſon of its making a noiſe reſembling that word, when it alights upon a tree or fence. I have endeavoured ſeveral times to ſhoot one, but owing to its being dark, and their flying ſo exceedingly ſwift, I have never been able to kill. By the information I have gathered from the inhabitants, I find it is about the ſize of a cuckow, with a ſhort beak, long and narrow wings, a large head, and mouth enormous, what is remarkable, it is not a bird of prey; under the throat there is a kind of ſkin which it can expand, and fill with air at pleaſure, and that enables it to make the noiſe which reſembles

the word Pope. From this deſcription, I conceive it to be a Muſquito hawk, abundance of which are to be ſeen in the day time; I accordingly ſhot one, and found it exactly correſpond to the deſcription of the other, only I could not perceive that looſe ſkin under its throat; I rather think that circumſtance is imaginary, and am apt to conclude, that the Muſquito hawk and whipper-will are the ſame bird.

I am ſorry to inform you that the Americans are too ſucceſsful in enticing our ſoldiers to deſert; a few days ſince the whole band of the ſixty-ſecond regiment, excepting the Maſter, deſerted in a body, and are now playing to an American regiment in Boſton. The temptations held out to our ſoldiery are very great, and it muſt be a Corporal Reeves, and ſuch as poſſeſs his principles who can withſtand them; think

think how far it muſt operate on a ſoldier's mind, that by deſertion he ſhall be free and protected, allowed to follow his trade, or if he enters their army, obtain a commiſſion; there is now a Major Brown, who has ſome poſt in the ſupplies of proviſions, he was a private, and deſerted from the forty-ſeventh regiment, at the battle of Lexington and Concord. The fellow, conſcious of his baſeneſs, when he meets an officer of that regiment, rides haſtily away, but you muſt allow it is rather grating to be in the power and under the command of ſuch a villain. You will be pleaſed with a noble and animated ſaying of a little drum-boy, not ten years old: this boy's father, who belonged to our regiment, ſome time ſince deſerted into Boſton, and has been as nigh as he could venture with ſafety to our barracks, to entice or ſeize his ſon, and take him with him; but finding it in vain he ſent an American to en-

treat him to go to his father, when the little fellow replied, "No; tell my fa-"ther, if he is ſuch a raſcal as to deſert "his King and country, his ſon won't; "he has fed at their expence, and will die "in their ſervice." I remain

Your's, &c.

LET-

LETTER LVI.

Myſtic, in New England,
Sept. 10, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOU muſt not be ſurprized if you hear of a maſſacre; bloody purpoſes are apparent ſince my laſt, three men have been fired at, one of whom was wounded, but the moſt melancholy cataſtrophe is the death of Lieutenant Brown, of the twenty-firſt regiment, who was ſhot dead in a chaiſe, as he was conducting two females from the barracks. The centinel who ſhot him was a little boy, ſcarce fourteen, who called out to him to ſtop,

but the horſes being headſtrong, he could not, and putting his head out of the chaiſe to inform him ſo, the little raſcal in an inſtant levelled his piece and ſhot him through the head. Had it not been for a few of our officers who happened to be on the ſpot, and the great diſcipline of our men, the boy would have fallen an inſtant ſacrifice; as it was, notwithſtanding the preſence of our officers, the men could ſcarce be reſtrained from ſeizing the boy from the American guard. By this ſad accident fell a brave young man, who had ſignalized himſelf during the campaign, and who, had he lived, would have been an ornament to his profeſſion.

When the matter was reported to General Phillips, he inſtantly wrote the following letter to General Heath:

"Murder and Death has at length "taken place; as to juſtice I do not aſk "it,

" it, every principle of it has long forſaken
" theſe provinces, I only requeſt that an
" officer may be permitted to go to the
" Head Quarters of General Waſhington,
" to lay the affair before him."

To this letter the General received no anſwer, but an order came to the Commanding Officer of the American troops, to put General Phillips under an arreſt, and to confine him to his houſe and garden; he was accordingly laid under an arreſt, and his houſe and garden is ſurrounded by centinels.

A few days after the above melancholy event, permiſſion being obtained, the remains of poor Brown were interred in the church at Cambridge; all the officers at Cambridge and the environs attended, a moſt mournful ſight! you can eaſily paint to your imagination what our feelings muſt have been at the time, for the

loſs

loſs of a young man univerſally reſpected, eſteemed, beloved, and the reflection, we knew not how ſoon it might be our own fate; for in the hands of ſuch wretches, our lives are very precarious, and of little value.

I cannot paſs over the littleneſs of mind, and the pitiful reſentment of the Americans, in a very trifling circumſtance, during the time the ſervice was performing over the body, the Americans ſeized the opportunity of the church being open, which had been ſhut ſince the commencement of hoſtilities, to plunder, ranſack and deface every thing they could lay their hands on, deſtroying the pulpit, reading-deſk and communion-table, and aſcending the organ loft, deſtroyed the bellows and broke all the pipes of a very handſome inſtrument.

Although

Although, (as General Philips obſerved in his letter, and which I am induced to believe, is the real ſituation of affairs in theſe provinces) every principle of juſtice had fled from them, ſtill the Americans were not ſo daring as to overlook ſuch an atrocious crime without ſome appeal to juſtice, were it only to deceive the populace with an appearance of it, and therefore ordered a General Court-martial on the boy who ſhot Lieutenant Brown, the judgment of which was ſent by General Heath to General Phillips, that he might give it in orders to the Britiſh troops, which was as follows: "The General Court-martial that ſat upon the trial of an American centinel, for ſhooting Lieutenant Brown, of the twenty-firſt regiment, acquit the ſaid centinel, having done his duty as a good ſoldier."

Inſults are not only ſhewn to the officers and ſoldiers remaining at Cambridge, but

but if poſſible, they are treated worſe at Rutland. As Mr. Bowen, the ſurgeon to the ninth regiment, Lieutenant Toriano, of the twentieth regiment, and Lieutenant Houghton, of the fifty-third regiment, were taking an evening's walk, they were met by an inhabitant, who, from his office of *Select Man* (theſe are a kind of overſeers to their meeting-houſes, who regulate the affairs of the pariſh, and report perſons for non-attendance at worſhip, compelling thoſe walking in the ſtreets, or travellers, on a Sunday, to go to ſome place of worſhip; they are very conſequential perſons, and very officious) derived no ſmall authority, and who had on every occaſion diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his inſolence and perſecution of the *priſoners of war*, as well as the unfortunate friends of Government, who had remained in that part of the country; this man of conſequence charged thoſe gentlemen with having treſpaſſed on his property, and before they

they could explain that they had not been off what they conſidered as the high road, he, in a moſt menacing manner, accompanied with many opprobious epithets, ſhook a whip over their heads. Mr. Bowen, who happened to be next the man on this occaſion, reſented the inſult with a blow, a conflict enſued, in which the countryman was worſted, though Mr. Bowen was ſeverely bruiſed on the occaſion, the countryman preſuming, as well from his perſonal ſtrength as his authority.

Though this inſult had been given theſe gentlemen in the ſight of many people on the road, who alſo bore teſtimony to Mr. Bowen's alone having ſtruck him, theſe three gentlemen (through the influence of this *Select Man)* were ſhortly after their return to their lodgings, taken by a party of the guards, conveyed to the guard-houſe, where they paſſed the night in the

common

common guard-room. The ſoldiers of the guard occupying the platform, theſe gentlemen were obliged to put up with the dirty floor, where they ſuffered every kind of indignity from the guard, who, not ſatisfied with making uſe of the moſt indecent language, would *ſpit* on them as they lay on the floor; in the morning they were removed to an adjoining barrack room, where they were very little better accommodated, and after ſeven or eight days confinement, they were given to underſtand, they were to be delivered up to the *civil* power.

The humanity of Major Carter, of the artillery, who was the ſenior officer of the Convention troops at Rutland (as well as conſidering it his duty to interfere) induced him from the firſt of the confinement of theſe gentlemen, to intereſt himſelf very warmly in their behalf, he had frequently remonſtrated with the Commanding

manding Officer of the guard, at the cruelty and injuſtice of their conduct towards them, but not being able to obtain redreſs, demanded a paſs to ſend an officer to Cambridge, in order to repreſent the affair, through General Phillips, to the Commanding Officer at Boſton. Major Carter then informed theſe Gentlemen, that as he thought it neceſſary for the good of the troops in *general*, to make *their* treatment a *public concern*, it was *his* orders they ſhould wait the reſult of General Phillips's interference with the American General, and not to act for themſelves in the buſineſs on any account.

Before the return of the officer from General Phillips, theſe gentlemen were taken to a juſtice, who reſided ſome diſtance from Rutland, before whom they were conducted with all the ceremony of criminals going to trial. The magiſtrate, who was an apothecary, poſſeſſed a few

few *hard* words, and a moſt ſtarched puritanical air, and perhaps on this account, had been judged under the new government the only man of the neighbourhood capable of ſupporting the dignity of a country juſtice: he was ſurrounded with a numerous train of officers of the *police*, ſuch as *committee* and *ſelect* men, who, with a number of ſpectators, whom curioſity had brought together, to be preſent at the *trial* (as they expreſſed themſelves) made a very formidable groupe.

The gentlemen were no ſooner brought before this very awful *Court of Juſtice*, than Doctor Frienck (for ſo the Juſtice was called) who was placed in the moſt conſpicuous part of the room in an arm chair, with *infinite* ſolemnity, and all the importance of office (without even permitting the leaſt accuſation as to any offence committed by them) aſked them "whether they pleaded *guilty* or *not guilty* "of the crimes laid to their charge?"

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On this occaſion, I think it would have been difficult for any indifferent perſon to have reſtrained his riſible faculties; nay, the gentlemen themſelves have declared it was not without the utmoſt circumſpection they could compoſe their muſcles to this curious demand of the Juſtice; one of the gentlemen informed this worſhipful magiſtrate, "That they having ſuffered "ſo many days confinement under the "*military* guard very *unjuſtly*, as they con-"ceived, and their commanding officer "having thought it neceſſary to make the "treatment they had met with a *public* "concern, they looked up to *their General* "for redreſs, conſequently were not al-"lowed to plead either one way or the "other!"

The Juſtice, enraged at what he conceived a ſlight to his authority, without heſitation committed them to *priſon*, with the additional charge of *contempt of Court*,

and the next morning they were conducted by a body of armed conſtables to Worceſter, about ten miles diſtance, and were lodged in the county jail, where, with two gentlemen, who were impriſoned as enemies to the *States*, they occupied a very confined dungeon, out of which a woman had, a very ſhort time before, been taken to execution, for the murder of her huſband.

On their firſt entrance into this moſt gloomy ſtate of ſecurity, it may eaſily be imagined, their feelings received no ſmall ſhock, and their fellow priſoners perceiving their diſtreſs, one of them, who had been bred to the ſea, by way of offering ſome conſolation in his own way, obſerved, that he could only compare their ſituation to that of ſo many *young bears*, whoſe misfortunes were all to come. The exceſſive heat of the weather, with the confinement in this deteſtable hole, which, when their mattraſſes were laid on the floor,

floor, compleatly filled it; and from whence, on no occaſion, or the preſſing calls of nature, they were allowed to retire, muſt, in a very ſhort time, have rendered their exiſtence burthenſome, if not deprived them of it, had they not found means of ſoftening the heart of a Mulatto woman, who ſerved them with proviſions through a hole, and who, by the force of bribes and fair promiſes, was prevailed upon to open the door upon thoſe occaſions for freſh air.

During their confinement, no attention was wanting on the part of their brother officers, to alleviate the horrors of their wretched ſituation, who gave them hopes of ſoon being relieved, through the interpoſition of *their* General. But at the expiration of *three* days, they received a meſſage by an officer from Major Carter, at Rutland, expreſſing his extreme concern that *he* ſhould in any meaſure be acceſſary

to their being ſent to priſon, at the ſame time lamenting that his repreſentation of their very unjuſt and cruel uſage had produced no other effect than a letter from General Phillips, part of which the Major had tranſcribed for their peruſal, which reprobated in the ſtrongeſt terms, the imprudence of thoſe gentlemen, in paying attention to the inſolence or abuſe of the people of the country, the General obſerving, " that they ſhould liſten to the abuſe " of the Americans, as to the mere *cack-* " *ling of geeſe*;" and concluded with ſaying, " He ſhould not concern himſelf with " a *boxing-match*."——Here I cannot but cenſure the conduct of General Phillips, for if he had his reaſons for not making an application to General Heath, he ſhould not have retorted ſo ſeverely on the gentlemen, eſpecially when it is conſidered two of them were innocent of the crime alledged; at the ſame time, the General might have recollected his own warmth of

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temper was, at that very moment, the occaſion of his confinement to his houſe and garden.

In conſequence of Major Carter's meſſage, theſe unfortunate gentlemen (two of whom, as I have juſt obſerved, had not even been guilty of the crime imputed to them, who had always found ſome conſolation in reflecting, that they were *then* ſuffering in conformity to the *will* of *their* Commanding Officer, and as they were given to underſtand, for the *public good*, and that through the interpoſition and zeal of *their General*, they ſhould obtain juſtice, and be ſet at liberty, found themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of ſhifting for themſelves.

On conſulting a lawyer (the aſſiſtance of whom is ſeldom wanting in *any* country for *certain conſiderations)* the learned limb of the law, after examining their commit-

ment, and ſatisfying himſelf, with reſpect to the ſtate of their finances, gave them to underſtand, that he ſhould be able to prove a *flaw* in it—for *it* ſpecified a crime againſt the *States*, when it was evident the *breach of peace* that they were charged with, could only *affect* the State of *Maſſachuſets* (the State they were then in) but added, to bring their cauſe forward for the conſideration of the Court during the aſſizes, that were *then* ſitting, the *fees* would be conſiderable.--- His terms, though exorbitant, were readily acceded to by theſe gentlemen, and by that means they were enabled to relieve themſelves from the horrors of a dungeon, on quitting which, it was their obſervation, that they had little more reaſon to *extol the humanity* of their *own General*, than they had the juſtice of the Americans.

Having often made ſeveral remarks, as to the footing military diſcipline is upon, I think

I think, by the profecution of theſe gentlemen, you will ſee upon what grounds of juſtice and equity their civil laws are founded, and even ſuppoſing they gain their independency, what anarchy and confuſion muſt enſue, for want of rulers with good hearts, to enforce the laws of equity and juſtice. The miſt that is before the eyes of Americans muſt ſhortly paſs away, when they will clearly ſee how eaſily they have given up the ſweet content and happineſs they poſſeſſed, and the innumerable privileges and liberties they enjoyed when under our Government.--- Deluded people, when it is too late, you will ſee your error! I ſpeak not partially nor vaguely, but am confident there is not one, let him be ever ſo bigotted to Independency, can lay his hand upon his breaſt and ſay, that he experiences that eaſe and happineſs he ever was accuſtomed to, and when he looks forward, in all human probability, neither he nor his

generation ever will---Many, I am certain, are now open to conviction, and would wiſh to retract, but having engaged, they are aſhamed; and rather than abandon a principle that they haſtily adopted, prefer ſacrificing their lives and fortunes: Difference of opinion ever will prevail, but it is the very height, nay, the very principle of madneſs, not to be open to conviction. In hopes that they ſoon may, and a permanent union formed between the Mother-country and her colonies, I remain,

Yours, &c.

LETTER LVII.

Myſtic, in New England,
Nov. 6th, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I Cannot impute any blame to you, but no letter has reached me for an age. Your friendſhip for me is ſo ſincere, that agreeable to my firſt requeſt on communicating our literary correſpondence, you no doubt have anſwered all my letters; all muſt be laid to my preſent ſituation, and the want of friends at New-York, to ſend them to me. Many officers have received letters; and by our friend, Captain B——, who has a ſhort epiſtle from you,

I have

I have the happineſs to hear you enjoy a perfect ſtate of health, and that you altogether reſide at the old family manſion, in Norfolk. I do not claim your promiſe of anſwering this, but wait till the next, as it is very uncertain where any letter will find me, for the Congreſs have paſſed a reſolve, to march the Convention army from the State of Maſſachuſets to Charlotteſville, in the province of Virginia, where barracks are erected, and where the troops can be more readily ſupplied with proviſions.

When this reſolve of Congreſs was made known, every one was ſtruck with amazement; but upon reflection, it certainly is obvious, that the views of Congreſs, by marching the men eight hundred miles in the depth of winter, would be the means of their deſerting in numbers, rather than endure ſuch fatigue. General Waſhington has had the humanity to order

der waggons for the women and children; what adds to the diſtreſſes of the ſoldiers, is their being ſo badly cloathed, having only the jackets that were made from their coats in the winter, whilſt in Canada; and what is ſtill more mortifying, a cartel ſhip arrived but two days ſince from New-York, with cloathing for the army: however, the men are to be ſupplied with ſhoes, ſhirts, ſtockings and cloth leggings, and the reſt is to go round to James River, in Virginia. General Phillips will aſk no favor of General Heath, otherwiſe, I think, he could not be ſo diveſted of humanity, as not to defer the march for a week, during which time the men might be cloathed; all is now hurry and confuſion, as the firſt diviſion march the 10th inſtant; the army is to follow in diviſions, the ſame as they did from Saratoga to Cambridge.

We

We are in great diſtreſs for want of money too, to undertake this march, none has arrived from New-York, and to add to our conſolation, the Commander in Chief has written to General Phillips, that it is his Majeſty's pleaſure, no more hard money ſhould be ſent to the Convention army; this is, no doubt, with a view that ſo much coin as is neceſſary for the payment of our army ſhould not be in circulation among the Americans, and be an inducement to detain us longer; the motive certainly is very good, but what is to become of poor ſubalterns, who, as it is, can ſcarcely ſubſiſt on their pay? No matter for that, you'll ſay, "private intereſt muſt "give way for the public good." Therefore we muſt have recourſe to the only method of removing the evil, by drawing bills on the Paymaſter; but you are not aware of the ſad effects attending it, it muſt inevitably ruin one half of the officers, for it is with great difficulty you can get

can get a bill diſcounted, and that only in paper money, which depreciates ſo exceedingly faſt, that it ſoon loſes a third of its value: only imagine, ſince our arrival it is ſo depreciated, that we get ſixty and ſeventy dollars for a guinea; but in diſcounting a bill you can with difficulty get forty; what with diſcount and depreciation, what a loſs there muſt be upon every bill that is drawn. It may certainly be judicious in politics, to withhold the pay from the troops, but at the ſame time it muſt be highly injurious to fortunes of individuals, for I can aſſert it as a fact, that for every bill of ten pounds, you do not in reallity, get more than ſix guineas and a half, and ſo in proportion.

The inhabitants of Maſſachuſetts would certainly keep up the credit of the Congreſs money, and make it ſomewhat more valuable, but the people from the Southward, from the Carolinas and Virginia, who

who in the courſe of their large dealings, are compelled to take the money in payment, ſenſible of the uncertainty of its value, wiſh to realize it into ſolid coin; therefore think little of the journey, from thoſe diſtant provinces to Boſton, to exchange with our army; they are ſenſible of the riſk they run, and are very cautious. But as the people to the Southward poſſeſs more liberal ſentiments, and know the principles of Britiſh officers, they, as we walk by, will enter into converſation, and frankly aſk if you want any paper dollars? They are rather cautious as to the Germans, for two German officers not being able to get ſo much from a man as they wanted, they informed againſt him, and he was ſent to priſon in Boſton. Theſe traders of paper money are very uncertain, ſometimes there will be a ſcarcity of them for ſome days, at other times there will be a dozen or two at a time; we then ſtick out for our exchange; one day guineas roſe

from

from twenty-five and twenty-six dollars, up to thirty-six, and I should observe to you, that when once they rise, they never fall.

A few days since there was a meeting of the Commanding Officers of the several corps, at General Phillips's, to consult upon some method of procuring money for the different regiments; various were the modes proposed, and the Paymaster-General consulted; but they could not agree upon any, when a Commanding Officer observed to General Phillips, that it was impossible the troops could march without money, and he was certain the officers of his regiment had not twenty paper dollars among them. General Phillips, with a warmth that spoke his good intentions, replied "Good God, Sir, what would you "have me to do, I cannot make money; "I wish to God you could slit me into "paper dollars, I would chearfully sub-"mit for the good of the troops?" At last

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it was reſolved, that the Paymaſter-General was to uſe his beſt endeavours, in which he ſucceeded, and the next day procured a conſiderable ſum, which was immediately diſtributed to the different regiments. It is ſufficient to enable the troops to march, and the Paymaſter is to go to New-York, in hopes the Commander in Chief will iſſue ſome money upon this emergency.

It fell to the lot of an officer who is quartered with me, to go expreſs with the money to the different regiments at Rutland, and you would have laughed at his diſtreſs, in what manner to depoſit the paper dollars, for he was not without his apprehenſions of being way-laid, and it was then nearly dark. He had ſcarcely two hundred pounds ſterling, but that ſum in paper dollars, makes a great bulk; at laſt, he thought the ſafeſt mode would be, to ſew it in the lining, accordingly ordering

ordering his ſervant, he ripped open his coat, ſewed in the dollars by large parcels —and thus accoutred he ſet off, and was a welcome viſitor at Rutland—had not this ſeaſonable relief arrived, the confuſion would have been very great, as many officers, rather than march without, had got themſelves arreſted, and were going to jail.

Were it not for the diſtreſſes of the ſoldiers, I cannot, for my own part, but ſay, this march was rather agreeable, for it enables me to ſee the ſouthern part of America, which I muſt confeſs, I have a ſtrong inclination for, having heard very great accounts of thoſe Provinces, and how much ſuperior they are in every reſpect to this; and it is no unpleaſing reflection, after the cruelties and barbarities the troops have experienced ſince our arrival, that we are quitting ſuch an inhoſpitable country; but in the moſt

flouriſhing times, I find this province was never remarkable for its courteſy to ſtrangers.

Being at preſent much taken up in preparing for this long march, I hope you'll excuſe the ſhortneſs of this epiſtle, at the ſame time aſſuring you, that you ſhall hear from me by every opportunity that occurs.

Your's, &c.

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LETTER LVIII.

Sherwood's Ferry, upon the Banks of the Delaware, Dec. 10, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

ON my leaving New-England, I joined the regiment, juſt as they had croſſed the Connecticut River, at Endfield; but in my way to this place, I and another officer, who accompanied me, had a very narrow eſcape of being ſent to priſon, for in travelling at night we miſtook our road, and got into the town of Springfield, which was out of the route laid down for us, and is unfortunately the great arſenal of all military ſtores for the State of Maſ-

ſachuſets; happily for us, the landlord of the houſe we put up at was a friend to Government, who concealed us, and we were glad to get away before day-break, not but it could be clearly proved it was merely accidental: But theſe Americans will not hearken to reaſon, and no doubt they would have found people ready enough to ſwear, that we went there either as ſpies, or to deſtroy their ſtores.

At a ſmall town we paſſed through in Connecticut called Sharon, there is an exceeding curious mill, invented by one Joel Harvey, and for which he received a preſent of twenty pounds from the Society of Arts and Sciences. By the turning of one wheel the whole is ſet in motion; there are two apartments where the wheat is ground; two others where it is bolted, in a fifth threſhed, and in a ſixth winnowed; in another apartment, hemp and flax are beaten; and in an adjoining apartment it

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is dreſſed; what adds greatly to the ingenuity of this conſtruction is, that either branch may be diſcontinued without impeding the reſt.

Moſt of the places you paſs through in Connecticut are called townſhips (as the townſhip of Endfield, Suffield, &c.) which are not regular towns as in England, but a number of houſes diſperſed over a large tract of ground, belonging to one corpotion, that ſends members to the General Aſſembly of the States. About the centre of theſe townſhips ſtands the meeting-houſe, or church, with a few ſurrounding houſes; ſometimes the church ſtands ſingly. It is no little mortification, when fatigued, after a long day's journey, on enquiring how far it is to ſuch a town, to be informed you are there at preſent; but on enquiring for the church, or any particular tavern, you are informed it is ſeven or eight miles further.

I could not help remarking, that the houſes are all after the ſame plan, and what was rather ſingular, moſt of them were only one half finiſhed, the other half having only the rough timbers that ſupport the building; upon enquiry I found, that when a man builds a houſe, he leaves it in this ſtate till his ſon marries, when he fits it up for his family, and the father and ſon live under one roof, as though they were two diſtinct houſes; but as the houſes are entirely compleat on the outſide, and the windows all glazed, they have the appearance of being finiſhed, but on entering a houſe, you cannot at firſt help lamenting that the owner was unable to complete it.

Juſt before we croſſed the North River, we came to the town of Fiſh Kill, which has not more than fifty houſes, in the ſpace of near three miles, but this place has been the principal depot of Waſhing-

ton's army, where there are magazines, hoſpitals, workſhops, &c. which form a town of themſelves; they are erected near a wood, at the foot of a mountain, where there are a great number of huts, which have been the winter quarters of the American army, and to which they are ſhortly expected to return for the enſuing winter; they are a miſerable ſhelter from the ſevere weather in this country, and I ſhould imagine, muſt render their troops very ſickly, for theſe huts conſiſt only of little walls made with uneven ſtones, and the intervals filled up with mud and ſtraw, a few planks forming the roof; there is a chimney at one end, at the ſide of which is the door. Near the magazines are ſome well-conſtructed barracks, with a priſon, ſurrounded with lofty palliſadoes. In this priſon were a number of unfortunate friends to Government, who were ſeized in their plantations, for refuſing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States,

and who were confined till a ſloop was ready to take them to New-York; for the Americans are ſo oppreſſive, they will not let any one remain neuter; and they compel every inhabitant, either to take the oath, or quit the country. When we croſſed the river, there were two large ſloops going to New-York, crouded with people of this deſcription, many of whom, the boatmen informed us, had left beautiful houſes, with extenſive, and well cultivated plantations.

General Waſhington was not without his apprehenſions, that Sir Henry Clinton would make ſome efforts to retake us, either by an expedition up the North River, or in our march through the Jerſeys, and therefore took every precaution to fruſtrate any plan that might be concerted, for upon the arrival of our army at Fiſh Kill, General Waſhington moved his army into the middle of the Jerſeys, and detached

detached a conſiderable body of troops to eſcort us, ſo very apprehenſive was he of a reſcue, that to each brigade of ours they had a brigade of armed men, who marched the men in cloſe columns. As to the officers they paid little attention, as we had ſigned a very ſtrict parole, previous to our leaving New-England. Now we have paſſed the Delaware, the Penſylvania Militia are to guard us, and the brigades that eſcorted us through New-York and the Jerſeys, return to Waſhington's army.

In a former letter I delivered my ſentiments on our having poſſeſſion of the North River, and on croſſing it, they were fully confirmed; for the Americans judging it was the plan of the campaign, 1777, to make ourſelves maſters of the North River, and thus to ſeparate the Eaſtern from the Weſtern States, after the taking of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, and our troops proceeding ſo far as Œſopus, and then returning

turning to New-York, they immediately began to fortify Weſt Point, which is not at preſent compleated, but when it is, will be impregnable, and effectually prevent any fleets paſſing; it being a point of land that projects, and makes a winding in the river, and at the ſame time narrows it, ſo as to have the whole command at that place. No doubt the Americans made choice of this poſt, as the moſt important to fortify, and Fiſh Kill as a place the beſt calculated for a depot of proviſions and other ſtores, as being ſituated on the high road from Connecticut, and near the North River. It is by this important poſt of Weſt Point, that the Americans are enabled to keep poſſeſſion of the North River, and a communication between the Northern and Southern Provinces; and I do once more aſſert, not only upon my own opinion, but of the Americans themſelves, that had we kept poſſeſſion of the North River, the war would have been

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by this time, nearly terminated in favor of Great-Britain.

As we paſſed through the Jerſeys, I was much delighted with the falls that are on the Paſiac River, being totally different from thoſe of Montmorency, and others I had ſeen. The river is near forty yards wide, and runs with a ſwift, but ſmooth current, till coming to a deep chaſm, that croſſes the channel, it falls in one entire ſheet near ſeventy feet perpendicular; one end of the chaſm or cleft of the rock is cloſed up, and at the other, the water ruſhes out with an incredible rapidity, in an acute angle, and is received into a large baſon, from whence it winds through ſeveral rocks, and then ſpreads in a conſiderable channel. The ſpray formed a beautiful rainbow, which rendered the ſcene ſuch as left the imagination nothing to add to its grandeur. This extraordinary phenomenon, no doubt, muſt

muſt have been the production of an earthquake. The inhabitants who reſide near it, have a ſtory handed down to them of two Indians, who venturing too near the falls in a canoe, were carried down the precipice and daſhed to pieces. What conſiderably heightened the ſcene is, another fall, about thirty or forty yards from the great one, where the water moſt beautifully glides down ſome ledges of the rock, that are two or three feet perpendicular.

I was much ſtruck at the grandeur of the North River, from the majeſtic appearance of the high lands that are on one ſide of it, and the beautiful meadows interſperſed with farm houſes on the other. What greatly adds to its beauty is the width, being near a mile and a half acroſs; although pleaſed with the river and the ſurrounding objects, ſtill this idea would preſent itſelf, that the water I was then

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ſailing on, might in a few hours, be at New-York where every one is continually wiſhing to approach. You muſt pardon theſe melancholy reflections, they are the effuſions of nature, and will burſt forth---but to return to my deſcription of the river: It is navigable from New-York to Albany, for large ſloops, from whence there is a communication by the Mohawk and other rivers (except a few carrying places) into the moſt interior parts of America, through the country of the Six Nations, as far as Lake Ontario; then by a continuation of the Hudſon, or North River, for they are the ſame, there is communication with the River St. Lawrence, through the Lakes George, Champlain, and the river Sorel, This river merits the greateſt attention, and had not the preſent conteſt aroſe, ſome ſpirited gentlemen had it in contemplation, by means of locks and canals, to have opened a paſſage for ſmall ſloops. No doubt, a century hence, there will

will be water carriage for ſchooners and ſloops from Quebec to New-York, which muſt greatly add to the wealth and commerce of America.

The ſmall part of New-York we paſſed through, ſeems to be well cultivated; it affords grain of all ſorts; there are abundance of cattle, hogs and poultry. As to the Jerſeys, they marched us ſo much in the back ſettlements, that I had not an opportunity of ſeeing thoſe parts, which were, before the war, deemed the garden of America.

We paſſed through a little town called Hopel, before we croſſed the North River, which is chiefly inhabited by the Dutch. At a houſe where we were quartered, the people behaved extremely civil and attentive, and upon leaving them, would ſcarce permit us to pay for what we had: from which circumſtance we concluded they were

were friends to Government, and ſome officers opening their heart, ſpoke very freely about the Congreſs, Waſhington, &c. obſerving how great a ſhame it was, that we ſhould be put to ſuch expence, and that Congreſs ought to pay for us, the man went out of the room in a moment, and juſt as we were mounting our horſes, brought us an enormous bill, exorbitant in every article, which he inſiſted upon being paid, and upon our urging that we had paid him what he had demanded, he replied, "Yes, gentlemen, ſo you have, "but then I thought Congreſs were to de- "fray all your expences; now I know you "are to pay me, I can't take a farthing "leſs than this bill," which we were compelled to diſcharge; however, it ſerved as a leſſon in future, to be cautious before whom we railed againſt Congreſs.

The Paymaſter, as we expected, joined us in the Jerſeys, which has enabled us to proceed

proceed on our march, and by whom we have received accounts, that Sir Henry Clinton purpoſes to make an exchange of priſoners this winter; a partial exchange, as to officers has taken place, and many have quitted us; this partiality has given much offence, as it is but juſtice, when a number are to be exchanged, they ſhould draw lots.

Hitherto the weather has been remarkably temperate and fine, which is extremely fortunate for the men, as they have moſtly ſlept in the woods; but ſince we came into a more populous country, they have ſlept in barns. When we left New-England the froſts were very ſevere, here we have not any, being ſo much to the ſouthward, and in a manner, the further we proceed we fall in with the cloſe of the Autumn.

One morning, as we renewed our march, the weather being remarkably fine, ſome officers

officers were extolling the beauty of the morning, an old woman who was in the croud, and overheard him, in the moſt violent rage exclaimed, " Well, for my " part, I believe God Almighty has turned " *Tory*, to give theſe Britainers ſuch fine " weather for their march."

At a houſe where I ſlept in the Jerſeys, the owner, who was a friend to Government, had left an exceeding fine plantation, near Trenton, and retired to this place till the termination of the war, made heavy complaints of the troops plundering both friends and foes. He obſerved, as to the Britiſh ſoldiers, they only pilfered poultry and pigs, but the Heſſians entered houſes, broke open drawers, taking away plate, cloaths, and other valuables; but to point out to you what an idea they muſt have of plundering ſomething, he related that he ſaw ſome Germans enter a houſe which was abandoned by the owner,

in which they had left an eight day clock, and a few tables and chairs, that he ſhortly after obſerved one of the Germans come out of the houſe with the works of the clock, pendulum, and all the leaden weights; this enormous weight, in addition to his knapſack and accoutrements, the fellow had near twenty miles to carry to New-York, where the moſt he could poſſibly get for it, would be three or four dollars. After he had related this ſtory, he obſerved, that the deſolation of the Jerſeys, which included friends, and moderate perſons, as well as enemies, had done great injury to our cauſe, as it had united the latter more firmly, and detached numbers of the former---exaggerated accounts of all the enormities that had been committed were publiſhed in all their prints, which determined thoſe who were wavering, and imbittered the minds of every claſs throughout the colonies, and he concluded with a ſigh, obſerving. that the re-

ſentment,

ſentment, occaſioned by the depredations carried on through the Jerſeys, had left few, or ſcarce any friends to Britain in the province.

The inhabitants of New-York, as well as the Jerſeys, are chiefly the poſterity of the firſt ſettlers in thoſe provinces, who were Dutch, and they ſeem to retain their principles, induſtry, frugality, and an aſſiduous perſeverance in the means of thriving. Before the war they muſt have been in an affluent and happy ſtate, eſpecially their farmers, but now they ſow and plant, and know not who will reap the fruits of their labor, for their grain and other produce are taken for the uſe of the continental army, and in lieu certificates are given to be paid at the Treaſury at Philadelphia; to many of them, eſpecially thoſe they imagine are inimical to their cauſe, they have barely left ſufficient for the ſupport of their families and the ſtock on the

farms for the enſuing Winter. Oh deluded Americans, you muſt be independent, and theſe are the bleſſed fruits of thoſe principles!

I was much delighted at meeting a bird lately, peculiar to America, termed the Mocking-bird, which derives its name from imitating the note of every bird they hear; its plumage is very ſimple and not ſhewy, it is a Summer bird, very difficult to bring up, and has a very melodious voice, which, in my opinion, would far exceed the Bullfinch, if the ſame pains were taken with it, from its amazing readineſs in catching every note it hears. This one I ſaw imitated a cock in ſuch a manner, that you could hardly believe but that there was a cock crowing in the room. The inhabitants ſay this bird is ſo very ſhy, that if any perſon diſcovers its neſt, which is moſtly built in buſhes, and looks at its eggs, it will never return again

to

to the neſt. When a neſt of young ones are taken, and put into a cage, they take great care to hang it where the mother cannot get at it, for if ſhe can, ſhe will feed them three or four days, and finding ſhe cannot releaſe them flies away, after which, the young ones ſhortly die, as in general they cannot eat what is given them? but the inhabitants attribute their death to the mother, who, they ſay, the laſt time ſhe feeds them, contrives to give them poiſon, in order to releaſe them from captivity.---If that really is the caſe, it ſhews how repugnant it is to the principles of nature, to confine any thing, and that ſhe calls aloud to partake of the bleſſings of liberty, but at preſent it reminds me of my own ſituation, I muſt therefore drop the ſubject.

Your's, &c.

LETTER LIX.

Lancaſter, in Penſylvania,
Dec. 16th, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WE halt a day or two at this town, and I cannot ſo well employ my leiſure time as to give you a deſcription of our march from the Delaware: we croſſed the river in ſcowls, which are flat bottom boats, large enough to contain a waggon and horſes; they are a ſafe conveyance, and moſtly uſed to croſs the rivers in this country, they are rowed with oars upon large rivers; but over a creek, which is about three miles from this town, called

called Coneſtoga, they pull them acroſs by means of ropes faſtened to either ſhore.

After you get over the Delaware, a new country preſents itſelf, extremely well cultivated and inhabited; the roads are lined with farm houſes, ſome of which are near the road, and ſome at a little diſtance, and the ſpace between the road and houſes is taken up with fields and meadows; ſome of them are built of ſtone, two ſtories high, and covered with cedar ſhingles, but moſt of them are wooden, with the crevices ſtopped with clay; the ovens are commonly built a little diſtance from the houſe, and under a roof to ſecure them againſt the weather.

The farmers in Penſylvania, and in the Jerſeys, pay more attention to the conſtruction of their barns than their dwelling-houſes. The building is nearly as

large as a common country church, the roof very lofty, and covered with ſhingles, declining on both ſides, but not very ſteep, the walls are about thirty feet; in the middle is the threſhing-floor, and above it a loft for the corn unthreſhed; on one ſide is a ſtable, and on the other a cow-houſe, and the ſmall cattle have their particular ſtables and ſtyes; and at the gable end of this building there are great gates, ſo that a horſe and cart can go ſtrait through: thus is the threſhing-floor, ſtable, hay-loft, cowhouſe, coach-houſe, &c. all under one roof.

The Penſylvanians are an induſtrious and hardy people, they are moſt of them ſubſtantial, but cannot be conſidered rich, it being rarely the caſe with landed people. However, they are well lodged, fed, and clad, and the latter at an eaſy rate, as the inferior people manufacture moſt of their own apparel, both linnens and woollens,

and

and are more induſtrious of themſelves, having but few blacks among them.

They have a curious method to prevent their geeſe from creeping through broken incloſures, by means of four little ſticks, about a foot in length, which are faſtened croſsways about their necks. You cannot imagine how extremely aukward they appear, though it is diverting enough to ſee them walk with this ornament; their mode preventing horſes from leaping over their incloſures is equally as curious, they faſten round the horſe's neck a piece of wood, at the lower end of which is a hook, which, catching in the railing, ſtops the horſe juſt as he is riſing to leap over; ſome indeed, faſten the fore and hind foot together, which makes them walk ſlow; both theſe methods are extremely dangerous to the horſes.

In

In New England they have a very few hives of bees, but in this province, almoſt every farm houſe has ſeven or eight; it is ſomewhat remarkable they ſhould be more predominant here, as all the bees upon the Continent were originally brought from England to Boſton, about one hundred years ago; the bee is not natural to America, for the firſt planters never obſerved a ſingle one in the immenſe tract of woods they cleared, and what I think ſtands forth a moſt indubitable proof that it is not the Indians, as they have a word in their language for all animals, natives of the country, have no word for a bee, and therefore they call them by the name of the *Engliſhman's Fly*. On the high road from Philadelphia to this town are mileſtones, which are the firſt I obſerved put up in this country, as to the other parts, the inhabitants only compute the diſtance at gueſs. It was no little mortification that we were debarred

ſeeing

ſeeing one of the firſt cities of America (Philadelphia) we paſſed within twelve miles of it, and ſeveral of us made application to the Commanding Officer who eſcorted us, to grant permiſſion for us to go into the city, aſſuring him we would upon our honour join the troops at night. He was a good-natured man, and nearly complying with our requeſt, but on a ſudden ſaid, he really could not, as Congreſs would be mightily diſpleaſed at it; however, we conſole ourſelves, that on our exchange, we may have an opportunity of ſeeing it.

In the greateſt part of our march the inhabitants were making of cyder, for in almoſt every farm there is a preſs, though made in a different manner; ſome make uſe of a wheel made of thick oak plank, which turns upon a wooden axis, by means of a horſe drawing it, and ſome have ſtone wheels, but they are moſtly of the former.

In

In travelling through Penſylvania, you meet with people of almoſt every different perſuaſion of religion that exiſts; in ſhort, the diverſity of religions, nations, and languages here is aſtoniſhing, at the ſame time, the harmony they live in no leſs edifying, notwithſtanding every one, who wiſhes well to religion, is hurt to ſee the diverſity that prevails, and would, by the moſt ſoothing means, endeavour to prevent it; yet, when the misfortune once takes place, and there is no longer an union of ſentiments, it is nevertheleſs glorious to preſerve an union of affections, and certainly it muſt be highly pleaſing to ſee men live, though of ſo many different perſuaſions, yet, to the ſame Chriſtian principles, and though not of the ſame religion, ſtill to the great end of all, the proſperity and welfare of mankind. Among the numerous ſects of religion with which this province abounds, for there are Churchmen, Quakers, Calviniſts,

niſts, Lutherans, Catholics, Methodiſts, Meniſts, Moravians, Independants, Anabaptiſts, there is a ſect which, perhaps, you never heard of, called the Dumplers; this ſect took its origin from a German, who, weary of the world, retired to a very ſolitary place, about fifty miles from Philadelphia, in order to give up his whole time to contemplation; ſeveral of his countrymen came to viſit him in his retreat, and by his pious, ſimple, and peaceable manners, many were induced to ſettle near him, and, in a ſhort time adopting his modes, they formed a little colony, which they named Euphrates, in alluſion to that river upon whoſe borders the Hebrews were accuſtomed to ſing pſalms.

Their little city is built in the form of a triangle, and bordered with mulberry and apple-trees, very regularly planted. In the center of the town is a large orchard, and between the orchard and the ranges

ranges of trees that are planted round the borders, are their houſes, which are built of wood, and three ſtories high, in theſe every Dumpler is left to enjoy his meditations without diſturbance; theſe contemplative men, in the whole, do not amount to more than five hundred; their territory is nearly three hundred acres in extent, on one ſide is a river, on another a piece of ſtagnated water, and on the other two are mountains covered with trees.

They have women of their community, who live ſeparate from the men; they ſeldom ſee each other but at places of worſhip, and never have meetings of any kind but for public buſineſs; their whole life is ſpent in labor, prayer, and ſleep; twice every day and night they are ſummoned from their cells to attend divine ſervice; as to their religion, in ſome meaſure, it reſembles the Quakers, for every individual, if he thinks himſelf in-

ſpired,

ſpired, has a right to preach.---The ſubjects they chiefly diſcourſe upon are humility, temperance, charity, and other Chriſtian virtues; never violating that day held ſacred amongſt all perſuaſions; they admit of a Hell and a Paradiſe, but deny the eternity of future puniſhments. As to the doctrine of original ſin, they hold it as impious blaſphemy, together with every tenet that is ſevere to man, deeming it injurious to divinity.---As they allow no merit to any but voluntary works, baptiſm is only adminiſtered to the adult; nevertheleſs, they think it ſo eſſentially neceſſary to ſalvation, as to imagine the ſouls of Chriſtians are employed in the other world, in the converſion of thoſe who have not died under the light of the Goſpel.

Religion among the Dumplers, has the ſame effect philoſophy had upon the Stoics, rendering them inſenſible to every kind

kind of inſult; they are more paſſive and diſintereſted than the Quakers, for they will ſuffer themſelves to be cheated, robbed, and abuſed, without the leaſt idea of retaliation, or even a complaint.

Their dreſs is very ſimple and plain, conſiſting of a long white gown, from whence hangs a hood to ſerve the purpoſes of a hat, a coarſe ſhirt, thick ſhoes, and very wide breeches, ſomething reſembling thoſe the Turks wear. The men wear their beards to a great length, ſome I ſaw were down to the waiſt; at the firſt ſight of them, I could not help comparing them to our old ancient bards, the Druids, from their reverential appearance; the women are dreſſed ſimilar to the men, excepting the breeches.

Their life is very abſtemious, and eating no meats, not that they deem it unlawful, but more conformable to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity,

Chriſtianity, which they argue has an averſion to blood, and upon thoſe grounds they ſubſiſt only on vegetables, and the produce of the earth.

They follow with great chearfulneſs their various branches of buſineſs, in ſome one of which, every individual partakes, and the produce of their labor is depoſited in one common ſtock, to ſupply the neceſſities of every individual, and by this union of induſtry, they have not only eſtabliſhed agriculture and manufactures, ſufficient to ſupport this little ſociety, but ſuperfluities for the purpoſes of exchange for European commodities.

Though the two ſexes live ſeparate, they do not renounce matrimony, but thoſe who are diſpoſed to it leave the city and ſettle in the country, on a tract of land which the Dumplers have purchaſed

for that purpoſe, the couple are ſupported at the public expences, which they repay by the produce of their labor, and their children are ſent to Germany for education. Without this wiſe policy, the Dumplers would be little better than Monks, and in proceſs of time annihilated.

Although there are ſo many ſects, and ſuch a difference of religious opinions in this province, it is ſurprizing the harmony which ſubſiſts among them; they conſider themſelves as children of the ſame father, and live like brethren, becauſe they have the liberty of thinking like men, to this pleaſing harmony, in a great meaſure, is to be attributed the rapid and flouriſhing ſtate of Penſylvania, above all the other provinces. Would to Heaven that harmony was equally as prevalant all over the globe; if it was, I think you'll acquieſce with

with me in opinion, that it would be for the general welfare of mankind.

An officer who is exchanged, and going to New-York, having ſent for my letters, I muſt haſtily conclude, aſſuring you, I am

Yours, &c.

LETTER LX.

Lancaſter, in Penſylvania,
Dec. 17, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN our way hither, we croſſed the Skuylkill, over the bridge built by General Waſhington's army, when they were encamped at Valley-Forge. I imagine it was the intention of the Americans, that this bridge ſhould remain as a triumphal memento, for in the center of every arch is engraved in the wood, the names of the principal Generals in their country; and in the middle arch was General Waſhington's, with the date of the year: this bridge

bridge was built to preſerve a communication, and to favor a retreat, in caſe they were compelled to quit their encampment.

Our troops ſlept in the huts at Valley-Forge, which had been conſtructed by the Americans; and as we waited till late the next day for the delivery of proviſions before we marched, I had a full opportunity to reconnoitre the whole camp: on the eaſt and ſouth ſide were entrenchments, with a ditch ſix feet wide and three deep, the mound not four feet high, very narrow, and eaſily to have been beat down with cannon; two redoubts were alſo begun, but not compleated, the Skuylkill was on the left, and as I before obſerved, with a bridge acroſs; the rear was moſtly covered by an impaſſable precipice formed by Valley Creek, having only a narrow paſſage near the Skuylkill: this camp was by no means difficult of acceſs, for the

right was attainable, and in one part of the front the aſcent was ſcarcely to be perceived, the defences were exceedingly weak, and this is the only inſtance I ever ſaw of the Americans having ſuch ſlight works, theſe being ſuch as a ſix-pounder could eaſily have battered down; the ditches were not more than three feet deep, and ſo narrow, that a drum-boy might with eaſe leap over.

A Loyaliſt, at whoſe houſe I was quartered, at Valley Forge, and who reſided there at the time Waſhington's army was encamped, told me, that when General Waſhington choſe that ſpot for his Winter quarters, his men were obliged to build them huts with round logs, fill the interſtices with clay, and cover them with looſe ſtraw and dirt, very uncomfortable, as the ſhelter was not ſecure from the weather, where the men ſuffered exceedingly from the inclemency of the

ſeaſon,

ſeaſon, the camp diſorder raged among them, the greater part of them were in a manner naked at that ſevere ſeaſon of the year; many without ſhoes and ſtockings, and very few, except the Virginia troops, with the neceſſary cloathing: his army was waſting away by ſickneſs, that raged with extreme mortality in all his different hoſpitals, which are no leſs than eleven, and without the eſſential medicines to relieve them; his army was likewiſe diminiſhed by conſtant deſertions in companies, from ten to fifty at a time, that at one period, it was reduced to four thouſand men, and thoſe with propriety could not be called effective. The horſes from being conſtantly expoſed to ſhowers of rain and falls of ſnow, both day and night, were in ſuch a condition, that many of them died, and the reſt were ſo emaciated, as to be unfit for labor, had he been attacked and repulſed, he muſt have left behind all

his artillery, for want of horſes to convey it; in addition to all theſe diſtreſſes, Waſhington had not in his camp, at any one time, a week's proviſion for man and horſe, and ſometimes he was totally deſtitute.

The Loyaliſts greatly cenſure General Howe, in ſuffering Waſhington to continue in this weak and dangerous ſtate from December till May, and equally aſtoniſhed what could be the motive he did not attack, ſurround, or take by ſiege, the whole army, when the ſeverity of the weather was gone—they expected that in the months of March, April, and May, they ſhould hear of the camp being ſtormed or beſieged. Certainly the ſituation of it favored either, for on the left was the Skuylkill that was impaſſable, but over the bridge, on the rear, lay Valley Creek, with the precipice and narrow paſs; on the right, and in the front, it could be approached

approached on equal terms; by poſting two thouſand men on a commanding ground, near the bridge on the North ſide of the Skuylkill, it would have rendered the eſcape of the enemy on the left impoſſible. Two thouſand poſted on a like ground oppoſite the narrow paſs, effectually prevented a retreat by the rear, and five or ſix thouſand men placed on the right and in the front of his camp, would have deprived them of flight on thoſe ſides; the poſitions were ſuch, that if any corps were attacked, they could inſtantly have been ſupported; under all theſe favorable circumſtances, ſucceſs was to be little doubted; but it ſhould ſeem that General Howe was exactly in the ſame ſituation as General Burgoyne, reſpecting intelligence, obtaining none he could place a perfect reliance on. In fact, the Americans have a moſt decided ſuperiority over us this war in that reſpect, our poſt and ſituations, nay, even ſecret marches, with

their

their intentions, are made known to General Washington by the inumerable spies and secret enemies who come into our camp and lines, under the specious character of Loyalists; it is quite the reverse with him, every man who enters his camp is known to some one or other, as his army is composed of troops from every province.

The Loyalists in Pensylvania generally accuse General Howe with ungrateful conduct, in abandoning Philadelphia, after all the assistance they had given him, and not having, during the Winter, endeavored to dislodged General Washington at Valley Forge, suffering the enemy to harrass and distress the loyal inhabitants on every side of the British lines, destroying their mills, seizing their grain, horses and cattle, imprisoning, whipping, branding and killing the unhappy people, devoted to the cause of their Sovereign, who, at every risque,

riſque were daily ſupplying the army, navy, and Loyal inhabitants within the lines, with every neceſſary, and luxury the country afforded.

Indeed, the Loyaliſts of Penſylvania are greatly to be pitied, for they have been much perſecuted ſince our troops evacuted Philadelphia, their loyalty is greatly abated, as they conceive themſelves made a ſacrifice of by the conduct of General Howe; and are ſo exceeding incenſed, and violent againſt him, they do not heſitate to ſay, that in caſe and comfort, in the city of Philadelphia, he cared little for military fame or glory; that he neglected his duty to his King and country, that he neglected the intereſt and ſafety of the country he was ſent to protect, and that his whole conduct was founded on private intereſt and ambition; you ſhall not know my ſentiments 'till we meet.

At

At a poor farm houſe I was quartered at, the night before we came into this town, I was much ſurprized when it grew dark, to ſee the landlady bring in a couple of green wax-candles, which at firſt we really took them to be; but lo! they were made from the berries of a tree, which is called the tallow ſhrub, as they produce a kind of wax or tallow; this plant grows in England, and known by the name of the candleberry tree. The method of making the fat from theſe berries, is by gathering them late in the Autumn, then they are put into a pot of boiling water; of courſe the fat melts out, and floats on the ſurface, which is ſkimmed off, and this proceſs is continued, 'till there is no fat left, when congealed, it has a green dirty color, but after refined, becomes perfectly tranſparent; with this they manufacture their candles; they were formerly much uſed, but before the war, they could procure tallow in great abundance, and there-

fore

fore uſed it in preference, as the time for gathering the berries and preparing them, ſcarcely repays the trouble. Now the poor inhabitants are obliged to have recourſe to them, as no tallow is imported, and all the cattle is taken for the ſupply of the army. There are many qualities appertaining to the candles made from their berries; they do not eaſily bend or melt in Summer, as common candles, they burn better and ſlower, and when extinguiſhed, do not ſmoak, but rather evaporate with an agreeable odour.

The town of Lancaſter is the largeſt inland town in America, it contains at leaſt ten thouſand inhabitants, chiefly Germans and Iriſh, there are ſome few good houſes, and excluſive of thoſe, it appears neither handſome, nor agreeable; however the markets are plentifully ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſion, and the cyder is very excellent,

cellent, the neareſt to Engliſh of any I met with in America.

Moſt of the houſes before the door have an elevation, to which you aſcend by ſteps from the ſtreet, reſembling a ſmall balcony with benches on both ſides, where the inhabitants ſit and enjoy the freſh air, and view the people paſſing; moſt of them have ſtoves ſimilar to thoſe of the Canadians.

This town, before the commencement of theſe unhappy troubles, carried on a conſiderable trade with Philadelphia, and the frontier ſettlements; now it has ſcarcely ſufficient to ſupply the inhabitants, and the neighbouring farms; it is really a diſtreſſing circumſtance, to ſee ſuch a populous, and no doubt, flouriſhing town, once a ſcene of buſtling induſtry, now in a ſtate of ſupineneſs, the ſhopkeepers lolling and ſmoaking at their doors, their

their ſhops which were overflowing with ſorts of commodities, ſcarcely contain more than Shakeſpere's Apothecary's "a "beggarly account of empty boxes," unleſs indeed, ſome French frippery, which the inhabitants will not purchaſe; the only little ſign of trade that I could perceive, was among ſadlers and gunſmiths, who were making materials for the Continental army:——This unhappy war has thrown the Americans into ſuch a ſtate, that it will be a century before they can recover from it.

The town of Lancaſter has no building of any conſequence, except the Lutheran church, which, is only built of brick, the inſide has a moſt magnificent appearance; the large galleries on each ſide, the ſpacious organ-loft, ſupported by Corinthian pillars, are exceedingly beautiful, and there are pillars of the Ionic order, from the galleries to the roof. The altar-

piece

piece is very elegantly ornamented; the whole of the church, as well as the organ, painted white with gilt decorations, which has a very neat appearance; it greatly reminded me of the chapel at Greenwich Hoſpital; the organ is reckoned the largeſt and beſt in America, it was built by a German, who reſides about ſeventeen miles from Lancaſter, he made every individual part of it with his own hands; it was near ſeven years in compleating; the organ has not only every pipe and ſtop that is in moſt others, but it has many other pipes to ſwell the baſs, which are of an amazing circumference, and theſe are played upon by the feet, there being a row of wooden keys that the performer treads on. I do not recollect ever ſeeing an organ of this conſtruction, except thoſe of the Savoy Chapel and St. Paul's; in the latter they are ſhut up as the vibration of ſound was found too powerful for the dome; but then they had only four

four or five of theſe wooden keys, whereas this organ has a dozen: the man who ſhewed the inſtrument played on it, and the effect of theſe keys was aſtoniſhing, it abſolutely made the very building ſhake. It is the largeſt, and I think the fineſt I ever ſaw, without exception; and when you examine it, you wonder it did not take up the man's whole life in conſtructing; to eſtimate its goodneſs and value, I ſhall only tell you it coſt two thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling; to you who are ſo muſical, what a treat would it be to be here a few hours only, unleſs indeed, you would think a few more not thrown away entirely, when allotted to

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXI.

Frederick-Town, in Maryland,
Dec. 25th, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AFTER we left Lancaſter, we croſſed the Suſquehannah, which, though a large, broad, and beautiful river, is extremely dangerous, on account of the rapidity of the current, and innumerable ſmall rocks that juſt make their appearance above the ſurface; in croſſing it we were not without our fears, for a ſcowl, belonging to the ſecond brigade, in which Lord Torphinchin, and a number of officers and ſoldiers of the twenty-firſt regiment was

was near being loſt by ſtriking on one of theſe rocks; this river falls into the Cheſapeak and forms the head of that vaſt water, which, though one of the largeſt and moſt beautiful rivers in America, is the leaſt uſeful, as it is not navigable above twelve or fifteen miles at the fartheſt, for ſhips of any burthen, and above that ſcarcely ſo for canoes; the utility of this river would be great, if the navigation, even for canoes was practicable, as the ſource of the eaſt branch of this river is in the Mohawk country, and from thence to the mouth in the Cheſapeak, is near ſeven hundred miles.

After we croſſed the Suſquehannah, we arrived at York-town, which was ſome time the ſeat of Congreſs; this is reckoned the ſecond inland town in America, it is not near ſo large as Lancaſter, but much pleaſanter, being ſituated on Codorow-creek, a pretty ſtream which falls into the Seque-

hannah; this town contains between two and three thouſand inhabitants, chiefly Iriſh, intermixed with a few Germans; here was formerly more trade than in Lancaſter, and notwithſtanding the troubles, it has ſtill more the appearance of it; as we came into the town at four o'clock in the afternoon, and marched the next morning, you may eaſily imagine I had but little time to make any very particular obſervations; but in walking about, I ſaw the Court-houſe and a few churches, which are very neat brick buildings, and I remarked the houſes were much better built, and with more regularity than at Lancaſter; of the two, though York is conſiderably leſs than the other, I ſhould give it the preference for a place of reſidence.

As I obſerved in a former letter, it was with a view and hope that the men would deſert, that the Congreſs marched us at this

this inclement ſeaſon; numbers have anſwered their wiſhes, eſpecially the Germans, who ſeeing in what a comfortable manner their countrymen live, left us in great numbers, as we marched through New-York, the Jerſeys and Penſylvania; among the number of deſerters is my ſervant, who, as we left Lancaſter, ran from me with my horſe, portmanteau, and every thing he could take with him. I did not miſs him till night, as I concluded he was with the baggage waggons; the next morning I obtained permiſſion from the officer that eſcorted us, to return back in purſuit of him, as I had reaſons to ſuppoſe he was going back to New-England; in the afternoon, on the other ſide of Lancaſter, I met the firſt brigade of the Germans, who were marching into the town. Being acquainted with Colonel Mingen, who commanded, he enquired if I had orders for him, but telling him the purport of my return, he informed me that he had

met my ſervant that morning, juſt as they were going to march; he enquired of him how I did, and the reaſon of his returning, when the fellow ſaid "I was very well, "and that I deſired my compliments to "him, if he ſhould meet him, and that "he was returning for a pair of ſaddle-"bags that he left behind on the road." After this I thought any purſuit in vain, therefore returned back to the regiment, who, by this time, had arrived in this town.

We have been greatly perplexed in our march through the different provinces, by the dollars being of ſuch various value; in ſome it is only ſix ſhillings, in others ſeven, ſeven and ſixpence, and eight ſhillings. The provinces entertain little opinion as to the value of their neighbours' money, as it will not paſs in the next province; the New-York money will not paſs in the Jerſeys, nor that of the Jerſeys

in

in Penſylvania, and ſo on. The Congreſs money is taken throughout the whole of them, but there are ſome provinces which deem their own money of more real value than that of Congreſs, and take it in preference, not that they dare refuſe the other, as it would be deemed high treaſon.

Till our arrival at this place, we have had the moſt delightful weather imaginable, but yeſterday morning there came on a moſt violent ſnow ſtorm, and which laſted the whole day; it was as ſevere as any I ever ſaw in Canada; the ſnow is up to one's knees, which has rendered the Potowmack ſo dangerous, that we are waiting here till it either freezes over, or becomes paſſable, the firſt brigade are fortunate, for by this time, they are arrived at Charlotteſville.

Frederick Town is a fine large town, and has a very noble appearance, as the

houſes are moſtly formed of brick and ſtone, there being very few timber buildings in it; it contains near two thouſand inhabitants, chiefly Germans, quite inland, the neareſt port being George Town, which is fifty miles diſtant, the only river, which is the Potowmack, is eight miles from the town.

About four miles before you enter it, you croſs the Monoccacy Creek, which, without a guide to ſhew the ford, a ſtranger muſt inevitably be carried down the ſtream; this ford is in the form of a creſcent, and made with large looſe ſtones, that a horſe is in continual danger of falling; the water, in general, is up to the ſkirts of the ſaddle, and after the leaſt fall of rain, it is impaſſable for ſome hours; there is a ferry-boat, but it is ſo badly attended, and in ſuch a ſhattered ſtate, that you are afraid to venture in it.

I am

I am quartered at the houſe of a Mr. M'Murdo, who is the Commiſſary of Proviſions in this town, and, although ſtrongly attached to the cauſe of the Americans, poſſeſſes very philanthropic ideas, his treatment and polite behaviour to the officers quartered at his houſe, truly mark the gentleman and man of the world.---His attention is ſuch, that although for this day, which is as much a day of feſtival as in England, he has been engaged for ſome time paſt among his friends and relations, he would ſtay at home, and entertain us with an excellent Chriſtmas dinner, not even forgetting plumb-pudding. If the Americans in general poſſeſſed ſuch liberal ſentiments, it would prevent the many horrid barbarities and perſecutions which ariſe in conſequence of this unnatural war, and which have branded the name of America with an odium, that no time can obliterate, no merit expunge.

I now

I now experience what has been often told me, that the further I went to the ſouthward, I ſhould find the inhabitants poſſeſs more liberality and hoſpitality. I remain

Your's, &c.

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LETTER LXII.

Jones's Plantation, near Charlottesville, in Virginia, Jan. 20, 1779.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AFTER we left Frederick Town, we crossed the Potowmack River with imminent danger, as the current was very rapid, large floats of ice swimming down it, though the river was only half a mile wide, the scowl that I crossed over in had several narrow escapes; at one time it was quite fastened in the ice, but by great exertions of the men in breaking it, we made good our landing on the opposite shore, near a mile lower than the Ferry.

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The difficulty of croſſing was only a fore-runner of the hardſhips and fatigues we were to experience on our entering Virginia; for on our march to this place, the men experienced ſuch diſtreſſes, as were ſevere in the extreme; the roads were exceedingly bad from the late fall of ſnow, which was encruſted, but not ſufficiently to bear the weight of a man, ſo we were continually ſinking us up to our knees, and cutting our ſhins and ancles, and, perhaps, after a march of ſixteen or eighteen miles in this maner, at night the privates had to ſleep in woods; after their arrival at the place of deſtination, the officers had to ride five or ſix miles to find a hovel to reſt in.

But on our arrival at Charlotteſville, no pen can deſcribe the ſcene of miſery and confuſion that enſued; the officers of the firſt and ſecond brigade were in the town, and our arrival added to their diſtreſs; this

this famous place we had heard ſo much of, conſiſted only of a Court-houſe, one tavern, and about a dozen houſes; all of which were crowded with officers, thoſe of our brigade therefore, were obliged to ride about the country, and entreat the inhabitants to take us in.

As to the men, the ſituation was truly horrible, after the hard ſhifts they had experienced in their march from the Potowmack, they were, inſtead of comfortable barracks, conducted into a wood, where a few log huts were juſt begun to be built, the moſt part not covered over, and all of them full of ſnow; theſe the men were obliged to clear out, and cover over to ſecure themſelves from the inclemency of the weather as quick as they could, and in the courſe of two or three days rendered them a habitable, but by no means a comfortable retirement; what added greatly to the diſtreſſes of the men,

was

was the want of provisions, as none had as yet arrived for the troops, and for six days they subsisted on the meal of Indian corn made into cakes. The person who had the management of every thing, informed us that we were not expected till Spring.

Never was a country so destitute of every comfort, provisions were not to be purchased for ten days; the officers subsisted upon salt pork, and Indian corn made into cakes, not a drop of any kind of spirit, what little there had been, was already consumed by the first and second brigade; many officers, to comfort themselves, put red pepper into water, to drink by way of cordial.

Upon a representation of our situation, by Brigadier General Hamilton, to Colonel Bland, who commanded the American troops, he promised to render the situation

tion of the men as comfortable as poſſible, and with all expedition. As to the officers, upon ſigning a parole, they might go to Richmond and other adjacent towns, to procure themſelves quarters, accordingly a parole was ſigned, which allowed a circuit of near one hundred miles. And after the officers had drawn lots, as three were to remain in the barracks with the men, or at Charlottiſville, the principal part of them ſet off for Richmond; many of them are at plantations, twenty or thirty miles from the barracks. I am quartered with Major Maſter and four other officers of our regiment, at this plantation, about twenty miles from the barracks; the owner has given up his houſe, and gone to reſide at his overſeer's, and for the uſe of his houſe, we pay him two guineas a week.

On the arrival of the troops at Charlotteſville, the officers, what with vexation,

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and to keep out the cold, drank rather freely of an abominable liquor, called peach brandy, which, if drank to excefs, the fumes raife an abfolute delirium, and in their cups, feveral were guilty of deeds that would admit of no apology, the inhabitants muft have actually thought us mad, for in the courfe of three or four days, there were no lefs that fix or feven duels fought.

Colonel Bland, who commands the American troops, was formerly a phyfician, at a place called Peterfburg, on the James River, but on the commencement of the war, as being fome way related to Bland, who wrote a military treatife, he felt a martial fpirit arife in him, therefore quitted the Æfculapian art, and at his own expence raifed a regiment of light horfe. As to thofe troops of his regiment with Wafhington's army, I cannot fay any thing, but the two that the Colonel

Colonel has with him here, for the purpoſes of expreſſes and attendance, are the moſt curious figures you ever ſaw; ſome, like Prince Prettyman, with one boot, others leſs fortunate, without any; ſome hoſeleſs, with their feet peeping out of their ſhoes; others with breeches that put decency to the bluſh; ſome in ſhort jackets, ſome in long coats, but all have fine dragoon caps, and long ſwords ſlung round them, ſome with holſters, ſome without, but gadamercy piſtols, for they have not a brace and a half among them, but they are tolerably well mounted, and that is the only thing you can advance in their favor; the Colonel is ſo fond of his Dragoons, that he reviews and manœuvres them every morning, and whenever he rides out, has two with drawn ſwords before, and two behind; it is really laughable to ſee him thus attended with his ragged regiment, which looks, to borrow Shakeſpeare's idea, as if the gibbets had been robbed to make it up---then the Colonel himſelf, notwithſtanding his martial

ſpirit, has all the grave deportment, as if he was going to a conſultation.

The houſe that we reſide in is ſituated upon an eminence, commanding a proſpect of near thirty miles around it, and the face of the country appears an immenſe foreſt, interſperſed with various plantations, four or five miles diſtant from each other; on theſe there is a dwelling-houſe in the center, with kitchens, ſmoke-houſe, and out-houſes detached, and from the various buildings, each plantation has the appearance of a ſmall village; at ſome little diſtance from the houſes, are peach and apple orchards, &c. and ſcattered over the plantations are the negroes huts and tobacco-houſes, which are large built of wood, for the cure of that article.

The houſes are moſt of them built of wood, the roof being covered with ſhingles, and not always lathed and plaſtered within, only thoſe of the better ſort that are

finiſhed

finiſhed in that manner, and painted on the outſide; the chimneys are often of brick, but the generality of them are wood, coated in the inſide with clay; the windows of the better ſort are glazed, the reſt have only wooden ſhutters.

The fences and encloſures in this province are different from the others, for thoſe to the northward are made either of ſtone or rails let into poſts, about a foot aſunder; here they are compoſed of what is termed *fence rails*, which are made out of trees cut or ſawed into lengths of about twelve feet, that are mauld or ſplit into rails from four to ſix inches diameter.

When they form an incloſure, theſe rails are laid ſo, that they croſs each other obliquely at each end, and are laid zig zag to the amount of ten or eleven rails in height, then ſtakes are put againſt each corner, double acroſs, with the lower ends drove a little into the ground,

and above theſe ſtakes is placed a rail of double the ſize of the others, which is termed the rider, which, in a manner, locks up the whole, and keeps the fence firm and ſteady.

Theſe encloſures are generally ſeven or eight feet high, they are not very ſtrong but convenient, as they can be removed to any other place, where they may be more neceſſary; from a mode of conſtructing theſe encloſures in a zig zag form, the New-Englanders have a ſaying, when a man is in liquor, *he is making Virginia fences.*

Their manner of clearing the land is, by cutting a circle round the tree through the bark quite to the wood, before the ſap riſes, which kills it; they then clear the ſmall bruſh-wood and cultivate the ground, leaving the trees to rot ſtanding, which happens in a very few years; and after receiving

receiving the circular wound, they never more bear leaves; a large field in this ſtate has a very ſingular, ſtriking, and dreadful appearance, it ſhould ſeem dangerous to walk in them, for the trees are of a prodigious magnitude and height, from which are impending in awful ruins vaſt limbs, and branches of an enormous ſize, which are continually breaking off, and frequently whole trees are falling to the ground with a moſt horrible craſh, the ſound of which is greatly encreaſed and protracted by the ſurrounding echoes: yet I am informed, notwithſtanding the danger, few accidents happen from them, except to cattle.

Upon our informing the Commiſſary of Proviſions where we were quartered, he gave us an order upon a Colonel Cole, who reſides about four miles diſtant, to ſupply us, he being appointed to collect for the uſe of the Congreſs in this diſtrict,

who, upon application, ſent us about a month's proviſion of flour and ſalt pork for ourſelves and ſervants. As the cart with the proviſions came through the plantation, I was much ſurprized to ſee all the cattle, horſes, ſheep, and hogs following it, nor could the driver keep them off, till he came to the houſe. I found this was to lick the barrels which contained the ſalt meat.

The inhabitants throughout America, whoſe habitations are at any great diſtance from the ſea or ſalt-water, give their cattle and horſes ſalt once or twice a week, with which they are ſatisfied, but here they were ſo diſtracted after it, as to lick the earth where there has been any pot liquor in which ſalt meat has been boiled, till they have licked up all the ſaline particles, and if a horſe that has been rode hard, and in a ſweat, is turned out with others, they

they each inſtantly ſurround and lick him.

Nature ſeems to have prompted theſe animals by inſtinct, as if ſenſible theſe ſaline particles were abſolutely neceſſary to correct the acidity ariſing from a ſuper-abundant accumulation in the ſtomach of the vegetable juices; the inhabitants therefore not only give them ſalt as medicinal, and to promote their encreaſe of fleſh, but to render them gentle and tame, and to allure them to viſit their plantations; otherwiſe, as they are not deficient in provender in Winter, they would run wild and roam beyond the reach of their owners, in theſe immenſe woods; yet notwithſtanding this precaution, great numbers do run at large entirely wild, and have no proprietors, but thoſe on whoſe lands they are found.

Moſt perſons who are in poſſeſſion of any conſiderable plantation, have what is called a right in the woods, by which they are entitled to a certain proportion of the ewe cattle that run wild, which they can diſpoſe of, or transfer as affixed property; there is no other criterion to aſcertain them but by branding, or putting ſome mark on them; each perſon differs in this, and they are recorded in the county court, ſuch property is further ſecured by an act of the aſſembly, which made it felony, to alter or deface the marks.

Moſt of the planters conſign the care of their plantations and negroes to an overſeer, even the man whoſe houſe we rent, has his overſeer, though he could with eaſe ſuperintend it himſelf; but if they poſſeſs a few negroes, they think it beneath their dignity, added to which, they are ſo abominably lazy. I'll give you

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a ſketch of this man's general way of living.

He riſes about eight o'clock, drinks what he calls a julep, which is a large glaſs of rum, ſweetened with ſugar, and then walks, or more generally rides round his plantation, views his ſtock, inſpects his crops, and returns about ten o'clock to breakfaſt on cold meat, or ham, fried hommony, toaſt and cyder; tea and coffee is ſeldom taſted, but by the women. He then ſaunters about the houſe, ſometimes amuſing himſelf with the little negroes who are playing round the door, or elſe ſcraping on a fiddle; about twelve or one he drinks toddy, to create him an appetite for his dinner, which he ſits down to at two o'clock; after he has dined, he generally lays down on the bed, and riſes about five, then perhaps ſips ſome tea with his wife, but commonly drinks toddy 'till bed time; during all this he is neither

neither drunk nor ſober, but in a ſtate of ſtupefaction; this is his uſual mode of living, which he ſeldom varies, and only quits his plantation to attend the Court-Houſe on court days, or to ſome horſe race or cock fight; at which times he gets ſo egregiouſly drunk, that his wife ſends a couple of negroes to conduct him ſafe home.

Thus the whole management of the plantation is left to the overſeer, who as an encouragement to make the moſt of the crops, has a certain portion as his wages, but not having any intereſt in the negroes, any further than their labour, he drives and whips them about, and works them beyond their ſtrength, and ſometimes till they expire; he feels no loſs in their death, he knows the plantation muſt be ſupplied, and his humanity is eſtimated by his intereſt, which riſes always above freezing point.

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It is the poor negroes who alone work hard, and I am ſorry to ſay, fare hard. Incredible is the fatigue which the poor wretches undergo, and that nature ſhould be able to ſupport it; there certainly muſt be ſomething in their conſtitutions, as well as their color, different from us, that enables them to endure it.

They are called up at day break, and ſeldom allowed to ſwallow a mouthful of homminy, or hoe cake, but are drawn out into the field immediately, where they continue at hard labour, without intermiſſion, till noon, when they go to their dinners, and are ſeldom allowed an hour for that purpoſe; their meals conſiſt of homminy and ſalt, and if their maſter is a man of humanity, touched by the finer feelings of love and ſenſibility, he allows them twice a week a little fat ſkimmed milk, ruſty bacon, or ſalt herring, to reliſh this miſerable and ſcanty fare. The

man

man at this plantation, in lieu of theſe, grants his negroes an acre of ground, and all Saturday afternoon to raiſe grain and poultry for themſelves. After they have dined, they return to labor in the field, until duſk in the evening; here one naturally imagines the daily labor of theſe poor creatures was over, not ſo, they repair to the tobacco houſes, where each has a taſk of ſtripping allotted which takes them up ſome hours, or elſe they have ſuch a quantity of Indian corn to huſk, and if they neglect it, are tied up in the morning, and receive a number of laſhes from thoſe unfeeling monſters, the overſeers, whoſe maſters ſuffer them to exerciſe their brutal authority without conſtraint. Thus by their night taſk, it is late in the evening before theſe poor creatures return to their ſecond ſcanty meal, and the time taken up at it encroaches upon their hours of ſleep, which for refreſhment of food and ſleep together

together can never be reckoned to exceed eight.

When they lay themſelves down to reſt, their comforts are equally miſerable and limited, for they ſleep on a bench, or on the ground, with an old ſcanty blanket, which ſerves them at once for bed and covering, their cloathing is not leſs wretched, conſiſting of a ſhirt and trowſers of coarſe, thin, hard, hempen ſtuff, in the Summer, with an addition of a very coarſe woollen jacket, breeches and ſhoes in Winter. But ſince the war, their maſters, for they cannot get the cloathing as uſual, ſuffer them to go in rags, and many in a ſtate of nudity.

The female ſlaves ſhare labor and repoſe juſt in the ſame manner, except a few who are term'd houſe negroes, and are employed in houſehold drudgery.

Theſe

Theſe poor creatures are all ſubmiſſion to injuries and inſults, and are obliged to be paſſive, nor dare they reſiſt or defend themſelves if attacked, without the ſmalleſt provocation, by a white perſon, as the law directs the negroe's arm to be cut off who raiſes it againſt a white perſon, ſhould it be only in defence againſt wanton barbarity and outrage.

Notwithſtanding this humiliating ſtate and rigid treatment to which this wretched race are ſubject, they are devoid of care, and appear jovial, contented and happy. It is a fortunate circumſtance that they poſſeſs, and are bleſſed with ſuch an eaſy ſatisfied diſpoſition, otherwiſe they muſt inevitably ſink under ſuch a complication of miſery and wretchedneſs; what is ſingularly remarkable, they always carry out a piece of fire, and kindle one near their work, let the weather be ever ſo hot and ſultry.

As

As I have ſeveral times mentioned hominy and hoe-cake, it may not be amiſs to explain them: the former is made of Indian corn, which is coarſely broke, and boiled with a few French beans, till it is almoſt a pulp. Hoe-cake is Indian corn ground into meal, kneaded into a dough, and baked before a fire, but as the negroes bake theirs on the hoes that they work with, they have the appellation of hoe-cakes. Theſe are in common uſe among the inhabitants, I cannot ſay they are palateable, for as to flavor, one made of ſaw-duſt would be equally good, and not unlike it in appearance, but they are certainly a very ſtrong and hearty food.

Having given you a pretty good ſketch of theſe back-ſettlers, in my next I ſhall be able to afford you ſome account of the country, and the lives and manners of the people in the lower parts of this province, for

for in a few days I am going to Richmond to purchaſe ſome liquors and neceſſaries, to render our ſituation a little comfortable, in this dreary region of woods and wretchedneſs. I remain

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER LXIII.

Richmond, in Virginia,
Feb. 12 1779.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

A FEW days after my laſt letter, with your friend Johnſon of our regiment, I ſet off for this place, and an uncomfortable journey we had, as the ſeaſon was unfavorable, and rendered travelling very dangerous, on account of the ſnow then on the ground, and the continued falls of ſleet, till our arrival at this place.

The country is ſo much covered with woods, that you travel a long time with-

out ſeeing an habitation, (the firſt we met with, was near eighteen miles from Charlotteſville) you can ſcarcely conceive the difficulty in finding the proper roads, as they are hardly to be gueſſed at by thoſe who have often uſed to travel in America; when one is bad, they make another in a different direction, added to which, the planters, *ſans ceremonie* turn a road to ſuit their own convenience, and render it more commodious to their plantation, if perchance you meet an inhabitant and enquire your way, his directions are, if poſſible, more perplexing than the roads themſelves, for he tells you to keep the right hand path, then you'll come to an old field, you are to croſs that, and then you'll come to the fence of ſuch a ones plantation, then keep that fence, and you'll come to a road that has three forks, (which is their manner of deſcribing the partings in the roads) keep the right hand fork for about half a mile, and then you'll come

come to a creek, after you croſs that creek, you muſt turn to the left, and then you'll come to a tobacco houſe; after you have paſſed that, you'll come to another road that forks, keep the right hand fork, and then you'll come to Mr. ſuch a ones ordinary, and he will direct you. Thus you ſee it requires the moſt retentive memory to be able to proceed at all, if unaccuſtomed to the roads.

We adopted a ſingular mode, which proved fortunate. One day after travelling a ſtraight road for near fifteen miles at the leaſt, as we calculated by our watches, during the whole way, we neither met or overtook a living creature, and were greatly at a loſs, as totally uncertain of being in the right road. Our perplexities greatly increaſed by the roads dividing; unacquainted with the country, or in what direction the place we wiſhed to reach, lay. We continued for a length

of time undetermined which road to take, at laſt my companion propoſed we ſhould toſs up a dollar, and if heads, to take the right hand, if tails, the left; it chanced to come up heads, and we took the right hand road accordingly, when after travelling about four miles, we came to the ordinary where we baited, the landlord of which informed us that had we taken the other road, we ſhould have gone near ſixteen miles further without ſeeing an houſe.

Having ſeveral times mentioned an ordinary, it may not be amiſs to acquaint you, that out of the principal towns, all taverns and public houſes are, in Virginia, called ordinaries, and 'faith not improperly in general; they conſiſt of a little houſe placed in a ſolitary ſituation, in the middle of the woods, and the uſual mode of deſcribing the roads, is from ſuch an ordinary

to

to ſuch a one, ſo many miles; the entertainment you meet with is very poor indeed, ſeldom able to procure any other fare than eggs and bacon, with Indian hoe cake, and at many of them not even that; the only liquors are peach brandy and whiſkey. For this miſerable fare they are not remiſs in making pretty exorbitant charges; but I am not ſurprized that accommodation for travellers is ſo bad, as I am informed, before the war, the hoſpitality of the country was ſuch, that travellers always ſtopt at a plantation when they wanted to refreſh themſelves and their horſes, where they always met with the moſt courteous treatment, and were ſupplied with every thing gratuitouſly; and if any neighbouring planters heard of any gentleman being at one of theſe ordinaries, they would ſend a negroe with an invitation to their own houſe.

On our journey to this place we overtook a flock of wild turkeys; a couple of ſpaniels we had with us purſued them, and it is incredible how ſwift they run, as neither of us, though we galloped our horſes, could overtake them, although they run near two hundred yards before they took flight; they appeared conſiderably larger than ours, and I am told, ſometimes weigh thirty or forty pounds each. Juſt before we came to Goochland Court houſe, we ſaw the manner by which the inhabitants catch them; they make a log fence of about twelve feet ſquare, ſecuring the top with heavy logs, but before they cover it over dig a paſſage from the center, to the outſide of the fence, which is covered over ſo as to admit light, and round about the entrance, and through this paſſage they ſtrew Indian corn, as well as a quantity for them to feed on when in the trap, the birds ſeeing the

the corn in the inſide, keep walking round to gather it, till they meet that which is laid to conduct them into the paſſage, which having conſumed, they keep eating on till they get into the trap, and theſe fooliſh birds, when they wiſh to get out, inſtead of returning the way they came in, keep continually flying up, by which means one or two out of the flock, in the morning are found dead, and they frequently catch a flock of ten or a dozen at a time in this manner.

At Weſtham, about ſeven miles, the falls of James River commence, which continue to about half a mile below this place, where the tide comes up. The grand ſtaple commodity of this province is tobacco, carried down the river from the back ſettlements to Weſtham, upon canoes laſhed together, and then it is brought by land carriage to this place, as the falls prevent any communication by water,

through the diſtance of ſeven miles; and during the courſe of that part of the river, the water ruſhes down in vaſt torrents, raging with great impetuoſity, and daſhing from rock to rock with a moſt tremendous noiſe, which may be heard for many miles.

At this place the land ſuddenly riſes into hills of a great height, abounding with prodigious rocks, large ſtones and trees; and as the ſummit of many of theſe hills hang over the falling torrent of James river, they command moſt romantic proſpects.

A little below Richmond, the tide flows up to the rocks of the fall, and there James River is half a mile wide, at which place there are ferry-boats.

At the foot of the falls there are three towns; Richmond, which is the largeſt, ſeparated

ſeparated by a creek named Shoekoes, from the town of Shoekoes, that joins it; theſe are on the North ſide of the river, and on the South ſide ſtands Cheſterfield, but from its ſituation, more generally known by the name of Rocks Bridge; ſmall ſloops come up to the falls, and two miles lower, large ſhips come up to load.

I am informed, above the falls, the river, after heavy rains, ſwells to a great height, and overflows all the low ground for ſeveral miles; and at the falls, where the river is confined by the mountains that abruptly ariſe on each ſide, the noiſe, force, and impetuoſity of the torrent, are moſt dreadfully tremendous and awful.

Many gentlemen around Richmond, though ſtrongly attached to the American cauſe, have ſhewn the liberality and hoſpitality ſo peculiar to this province, in their particular

particular attention and civilities to our officers, who are quartered here, and in the adjacent country; among thoſe who are moſt diſtinguiſhed in this line, are Colonel Randolph, of Tuckahoe; Colonel Good, of Cheſterfield; Colonel Cary, of Warwick, &c. &c. The illiberal part of their countrymen charge them with being partial to Great-Britain, but theſe are gentlemen of fixed principles, of affluence and authority, and therefore deſpiſe all popular clamour.

There happened the moſt remarkable phenomenon a few nights ago, that we imagined might be peculiar to this climate, but at which we found the inhabitants exceedingly alarmed and terrified; it was a moſt terrible ſtorm of thunder and lightning; the day had been as piercingly keen and penetrating as any we had felt this Winter, and in the evening the ſtorm came on; the eruſcations and flaſhes of lightning

lightning inceſſantly followed each other in quick and rapid tranſitions, and the thunder was a conſtant ſucceſſion of loud contending peals; this ſtorm laſted near two hours; at its commencement, the air felt warm, which encreaſed ſo faſt, that at one time it was intenſely hot; but as the ſtorm decreaſed, ſo the heat left us, and the next morning was a ſharp froſt.

As I was walking with ſome officers, I was ſhewn a gentleman of the town, a Mr. Fanchée, a ſurgeon and apothecary, who had the misfortune to have one of his eyes gouged out, it was happily in time replaced, and there were hopes that he would recover the uſe of it. I ſhall relate the way the accident happened, to ſhew the ferociouſneſs of the lower claſs in this country; this gentlemen was at play in the billiard-room, where there were a number of gentlemen, and ſeveral of our officers: a low fellow, who pretends to

gentility

gentility came in, and in the courſe of play, ſome words aroſe, in which he firſt wantonly abuſed, and afterward would inſiſt on fighting Mr. Fauchée, deſiring at the ſame time, to know upon what terms he would fight, as the lower ſort have various modes; Mr. Fauchée declined any, ſaying, that he was totally ignorant as to boxing, but the other calling himſelf a gentleman, he would meet him in a gentleman-like manner; he had ſcarcely uttered theſe words, before the other flew at him, and in an inſtant turned his eye out of the ſocket, and while it hung upon his cheek, the fellow was barbarous enough to endeavor to pluck it entirely out, but was prevented. You can eaſily imagine what the officers who were preſent, muſt have felt, as ſpectators of ſuch a ſcene, who were obliged to ſuffer ſuch a wretch to go off with impunity, their hands being reſtrained, by their parole, from any interference.

This

This moſt barbarous cuſtom, which a ſavage would bluſh at being accuſed of, is peculiar to the lower claſs of people in this province; at one time it was ſo prevalent, that the Governor and Aſſembly were obliged to paſs a law which made it criminal, and that law is now in force, but the rabble are ſuch a lawleſs ſet, eſpecially thoſe in the back woods, that they are little reſtrained by any laws the State can paſs, and in the back ſettlement, this ſavage cuſtom prevails.——I have ſeen a fellow, reckoned a great adept in gouging, who conſtantly kept the nails of both his thumbs and ſecond fingers very long and pointed; nay, to prevent their breaking or ſplitting, in the execution of his diabolical intentions, he hardened them every evening in a candle.

It is an univerſal opinion, that death is preferable to loſs of ſight, and as every occaſion of quarrelling with the officers is greedily

greedily ſought after, we ſeldom go out without our ſide arms. What pity it is, that a country where the ſuperior claſs are of ſuch an hoſpitable and friendly diſpoſition, ſhould be rendered almoſt unſafe to live in by the barbarity of the people. That I was but out of it, and once more in Old England, is the conſtant prayer of

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER LXIV.

Richmond, in Virginia,
Feb. 18th, 1779.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAVE been detained at this place beyond my original intention by the hoſpitality of the neighbouring gentlemen, who would not let me leave them without viſiting the whole circle; among the number was Colonel Carey, who reſides at Warwick, where he has a moſt ſuperb houſe, near which are ſome curious mills and iron-works, whoſe building coſt ſome thouſands of pounds; they have not only been of great emolument to himſelf, but very

very beneficial to the public. His houſe is ſituated on the border of James River, and on the oppoſite ſhore is another of a Major Randolph; it may not be unneceſſary to obſerve, that the Randolphs are deſcended from one of the firſt ſettlers in this province of that name, and are ſo numerous, that they are obliged, like the clans of Scotland, to be diſtinguiſhed by their places of reſidence.

Peterſburgh being but a few miles from Colonel Carey's, and ſeveral of us, one evening, expreſſing a deſire to ſee that town, but lamenting it was out of our parole. He, the next morning after breakfaſt, ſaid, "Come, gentlemen, we'll mount "out horſes, and take a ride before din-"ner, to Peterſburgh," we expreſſed how happy it would make us to accompany him, but were reſtrained by our parole, when he replied, "not ſo, gentlemen," and produced a letter from the American Commanding

manding Officer, granting us permiſſion; this little circumſtance I mention, to ſhew that his hoſpitality is accompanied with true politeneſs and attention.

The town of Peterſburgh is ſituated on the borders of the Apamatock River, and on the oppoſite ſhore are a few houſes, which is a kind of ſuburb, independant of Peterſburg, called Pocahunta----the principal trade of Peterſburg ariſes from the exporting of tobacco, depoſited in warehouſes and magazines, but before it is lodged in theſe warehouſes, it is examined, to confirm it in a proper ſtate for exportation by inſpectors, who prove the quality of the tobacco; and if found good, they give the planter a receipt for ſuch a quantity, and theſe receipts paſs current as caſh: Thus any one depoſiting tobacco in theſe warehouſes, and obtaining a receipt, may go to Williamſburg, or any other city in the province, and purchaſe any

kind of commodities, paying with receipts, which circulate through a multitude of hands before they come to the merchant who purchaſes the tobacco for exportation; thus this valuable commodity is equally Bank ſtock, and current coin; and the inhabitants, in deſcribing the prices of their different purchaſes, inſtead of ſaying "I gave ſo many pounds for ſuch an ar-"ticle;" "I gave ſo many hogſheads of "tobacco."

The Apamatocks River is nearly as wide as the Thames, and runs into the James River, about twelve miles from the falls, which are a little above Peterſburgh, and juſt below the falls, there is a large wooden bridge, at the town of Pocahunta, up to which ſloops, ſchooners, and ſmall veſſels continually ſail.

The town of Pocahunta is named after the daughter of a famous Indian Chief, or

Emperor

Emperor Powhatan (which is the Indian name of the James River) who gave all the land round this place to his daughter as a marriage portion.

At Peterſburgh reſides a Mrs. Bowling, who has conſiderable warehouſes, beſides a very extenſive plantation and eſtates, whoſe ſon has married a very agreeable young lady, lineally deſcended from Pocahunta. After Colonel Carey had given us the brief hiſtory of Pocahunta, relating to her friendſhip for the Engliſh, in their firſt ſettlement in this province, and her marrying an Engliſhman, with whom ſhe went to Europe, he related the following anecdote of a great man of her own nation, that ſhe had in her ſuite, when ſhe left Virginia:

" This man had orders from Powhatan " to count the people of England, and give " him an account of their numbers. As

" the Indians have no letters or figures " among them, he, at his going aſhore, " provided a ſtick, in which he was to " make a notch for every perſon he ſaw; " but he, as you may ſuppoſe, ſoon grew " weary, and threw away his ſtick: Upon " his return, the King aſked him how " many people there were?" " *He deſired* " *him to count the ſtars in the ſky, the leaves* " *upon the trees, and the ſand on the ſea* " *ſhore, for ſo many people he ſaid were in* " *England.*" At this concluſion, Colonel Carey archly remarked, " Don't you think " you cou'd make that reply to your King, " if he aſked you how many people you " ſaw in America?"

The tobacco warehouſes at Peterſburg, as well as at Richmond, are crowded with that commodity, as they cannot find purchaſers, and the planters will not export it themſelves, on account of our numerous privateers; ſome few merchants have ventured

tured ſmall ſloops to the Bermuda iſlands, and have been ſucceſsful; it is only theſe who have any commodities in their ſtores, the reſt being ſhut up; and I cannot help making the ſame reflection, at ſeeing ſuch towns as Peterſburgh and Richmond in the ſame ſtate as that of Lancaſter, all trade being at a ſtand in theſe places, where no doubt, before the war, it muſt have been very conſiderable, theſe two towns having formerly ſupplied the back ſettlers with all manner of ſtores for their plantations. Except in the principal cities, ſuch as Boſton, New-York, and Philadelphia, the towns have not various branches of manufactures, ſuch as linen-drapers, mercers, grocers, hoſiers, haberdaſhers, ſtationers, &c. but are all comprized under the name of merchant and ſtore-keeper; and what are called ſhops in England, are here denominated ſtores, which furniſh every article in life, not only neceſſary but ornamental, and

even jewellery; excluſive of the great ſtores in the capital towns, there are ſmaller ones ſcattered all over the country.

I ſpent a few days at Colonel Randolph's, at Tuckahoe, at whoſe houſe the uſual hoſpitality of the country prevailed; it is built on a riſing ground, having a moſt beautiful and commanding proſpect of James River; on one ſide is Tuckahoe, which being the Indian name of that creek, he named his plantation Tuckahoe after it; his houſe ſeems to be built ſolely to anſwer the purpoſes of hoſpitality, which being conſtructed in a different manner than in moſt other countries; I ſhall deſcribe it to you: It is in the form of an H, and has the appearance of two houſes, joined by a large ſaloon; each wing has two ſtories, and four large rooms on a floor; in one the family reſide, and the other is reſerved ſolely for viſitors: the ſaloon that unites them, is of a conſiderable

able magnitude, and on each ſide are doors; the ceiling is lofty, and to theſe they principally retire in the Summer, being but little incommoded by the ſun, and by the doors of each of the houſes, and thoſe of the ſaloon being open, there is a conſtant circulation of air; they are furniſhed with four ſophas, two on each ſide, beſides chairs, and in the center there is generally a chandelier; theſe ſaloons anſwer the two purpoſes of a cool retreat from the ſcorching and ſultry heat of the climate, and of an occaſional ball-room. The outhouſes are detached at ſome diſtance, that the houſe may be open to the air on all ſides.

Colonel Randolph poſſeſſes that fondneſs for horſes, which I obſerved was peculiar to the Virginians of all ſtations, ſparing no trouble, pains, or expence, in importing the beſt ſtock, and improving the breed; and it was with no little pleaſure

he ſhewed us a fine one, named Shakeſpeare, which he imported juſt as the war commenced. There was a ſtable built purpoſely for this horſe, in which was a receſs for a bed for the negroe who looked after it, that he might be with it at night. This horſe is of a handſome dappled grey, about ſixteen hands and a half high, with a moſt beautiful head and neck; as to any other points about him, it is impoſſible to tell, for the creature was ſo amazingly pampered and fat, and being of the race breed, his legs were ſo ſmall and ſlim, that they appeared unable to ſupport the weight of his body, exactly like the horſes one ſees painted in old pictures; the beſt idea you can poſſibly form of his ſize, is by telling you, that from his withers to his tail, there was ſuch a groove of fat, that you might pour water upon his withers, and it would run in a ſtraight line down his tail; the horſe is obliged to be kept in high condition, to

enable

enable him to receive the numerous viſitors attending on him in the Spring.

In the courſe of a few days I ſhall return to Charlotteſville, at which I am by no means diſpleaſed, for notwithſtanding the hoſpitality and great attention ſhewn me, I do not feel myſelf *comme il faut*, feeling that uneaſy ſenſation, which the Engliſh in general poſſeſs, and which may be ridiculous perhaps, but it is conſtitutional, ariſing from a conſciouſneſs of its being out of my power to make a return for the civilities ſhewn me. I cannot but in juſtice ſay, that in all the gentlemens houſes I have viſited, they never ſtarted, for would ſuffer any converſation on politics; ſometimes, when alone with the ladies, they would indulge and rally us a little, at our being priſoners, but all with great good humour; the only unpleaſant circumſtance of the kind that I recollect was at Tuckahoe, where an offi-

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cer ſuffered his vexation to overcome that gratitude he was bound to ſhew for the hoſpitality he met with.

Colonel Randolph every year made a preſent of two hogſheads of tobacco to his daughter as a venture, to purchaſe dreſſes and ornaments, and the ſhips had always been ſo unfortunate as to be captured. As ſeveral officers were ſitting with the ladies, the converſation ran upon politics, when Miſs Randolph innocently aſked, "How "we came to be taken priſoners?" the officer with ſome warmth replied, "Juſt "as your tobacco was, by a ſuperior "force." I need not tell you the diſtreſs and confuſion of the young lady, as well as of the officer himſelf, who immediately became conſcious of what he had ſaid, and for his ill-timed violence, he forfeited all claim to the hoſpitality of Tuckahoe.

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER LXV.

Jones's Plantation, near Charlotteſville, in Virginia, April 10, 1779.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

DURING my journey to Richmond, General Phillips and General Reideſel arrived at Charlotteſville, and the day after their arrival, went to the barracks; they were greatly incenſed at the treatment the army met with, at preſent the ſoldiers are more comfortably lodged, but had General Phillips ſeen them in the ſtate they were in on the firſt arrival of the troops, I think his warmth of temper and regard for them, would have laid him under the ſame reſtriction

ſtriction as at Boſton. The men have been exceedingly ill ſupplied with proviſions in general, having meat only twice or thrice a week, and for ſome weeks none, what they get is ſcarcely wholeſome, this is at preſent what the poor fellows term a faſt, they not having any meat ſerved them ſince the twenty-fifth of laſt month. General Phillips has greatly exerted himſelf ſince his arrival, and there are hopes that in future, the troops will be more regularly ſupplied.

Congreſs certainly are to be acquitted of all this bad management, as they have been miſguided and duped by one of their own members, a Colonel Harvey, who is a delegate for this Province.

When they paſſed the reſolve to detain us priſoners, contrary to the articles of convention, the ſtate of Maſſachuſets deemed it oppreſſive, that it ſhould be

obliged to support our army, as they had cheerfully supplied their own troops with more in quota than the other Provinces, and that as they had already supplied our army for near a twelvemonth, it would be but equitable for the southern Provinces to partake of the burthen; they accordingly instructed their delegates to apply to Congress for that purpose. When the motion was made, the petition of the State of Massachusets appeared founded upon equity, and it was then considered to what Province we should be removed to, the Jerseys and New-York Provinces were improper, as being the seat of war, as to Pensylvania, that Province had been so ravaged by the two armies, that they deemed it incapable of furnishing provision to supply their own with the quota allotted them. As to Maryland, it was so small a Province, it did not admit of any consideration, and Virginia was deemed the Province best calculated,

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from its extenſiveneſs, as well as its fertility; and that by ſtationing the army in the back ſettlements, it removed all fears of any attempts of a reſcue, by a part of the army from New York.

When Virginia was fixed upon, this Colonel Harvey propoſed to Congreſs, to remove the convention army to a tract of land that belonged to him about ſix miles from Charlotteſville, about four from the blue mountains, and near two hundred miles from the ſea coaſt, that if Congreſs approved of that ſituation, he would engage to build barracks and lay in proviſions by the enſuing Spring. This propoſal meeting with approbation, was paſſed into a reſolve about the latter end of laſt June.

Colonel Harvey immediately reſorted to Virginia, and ſet all his negroes and a number of the inhabitants to built theſe barracks,

barracks, and to collect provisions; after having planned every thing, he left the completion of it to the management of his brother, and returned to Congress. His brother not possessing so much activity and not being, perhaps, so much interested in the business, did not pay proper attention to it, which was the cause why the barracks were not finished, and affairs being in such a state of confusion on our arrival. When Colonel Harvey left Virginia, he fully imagined that every necessary comfort and supply of provisions would be ready for the reception of the troops, at Christmas; being fully sensible that the log-huts would be erected long before that time, and as to provisions, he had left such directions as, if obeyed, could not fail; it is just to observe, that Congress consulted Colonel Harvey previous to their passing their resolves, and sending their orders of our removal out of the Massachusets State.

The

The houſe and plantation where General Phillips reſides is called *Blenheim*; the houſe was erected ſhortly after that memorable battle in Germany, by a Mr. Carter, who was Secretary to the colony, and was his favorite ſeat of reſidence: It ſtands on a lofty eminence, commanding a very extenſive proſpect, and is built after the manner of that I have deſcribed to you in my laſt. The preſent proprietor, Colonel Carter, poſſeſſes a moſt affluent fortune, and has a variety of ſeats, in ſituations far ſurpaſſing this of Blenheim, which he ſuffers to go to ruin; and when General Phillips took it, this charming manſion was crouded with negroes, ſent from various other plantations, to clear a ſpot of ground a few miles off: The tract of land Colonel Carter poſſeſſes in this province is immenſe, and his ſtock of negroes the moſt numerous, he being poſſeſſed of one thouſand five hundred on his different plantations.

The

The firſt night after our leaving Richmond, I ſlept at an elegant villa, called Belvidera, which formerly belonged to a Colonel Bird, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in the laſt war, in that ſad diſaſter of General Braddock's. He poſſeſſed a moſt affluent fortune, and was proprietor of all the lands round the falls for many miles, as well as the greateſt part of the lands round the town of Richmond. His great abilities and perſonal accompliſhments, were univerſally eſteemed, but being infatuated with play, his affairs, at his death, were in a deranged ſtate. The widow whom he left with eight children, has, by prudent management, preſerved out of the wreck of his princely fortune, a beautiful houſe, at a place called Weſtover, upon James River, ſome perſonal property, a few plantations, and a number of ſlaves. The grounds around the houſe at Weſtover, are laid out in a moſt beautiful manner and with

great taſte, and from the river appear delightful.

From my obſervations and remarks in my late journey, it appeared to me, that before the war, the ſpirit of equality or levelling principal was not ſo prevalent in Virginia, as in the other provinces; and that the different claſſes of people in the former ſupported a greater diſtinction than thoſe of the latter; but ſince the war, that principle ſeems to have gained great ground in Virginia; an inſtance of it I ſaw at Colonel Randolph's, at Tuckahoe, where three country peaſants, who came upon buſineſs, entered the room where the Colonel and his company were ſitting, took themſelves chairs, drew near the fire, began ſpitting, pulling off their country boots all over mud, and then opened their buſineſs, which was ſimply about ſome continental flour to be ground at the Colonel's mill: When they

they were gone, ſome one obſerved what great liberties they took; he replied, it was unavoidable, the ſpirit of independency was converted into equality, and every one who bore arms, eſteemed himſelf upon a footing with his neighbour, and concluded with ſaying, "No doubt, "each of theſe men conceives himſelf, in "every reſpect, my equal."

There were, and ſtill are, three degrees of ranks among the inhabitants, excluſive of negroes; but I am afraid the advantage of diſtinction will never exiſt again in this country, in the ſame manner it did before the commencement of hoſtilities.

The firſt claſs conſiſts of gentlemen of the beſt families and fortunes, which are more reſpectable and numerous here, than in any other province; for the moſt part they have had liberal educations, poſſeſs a thorough knowledge of the world,

with great eaſe and freedom in their manners and converſation, many of them keep their carriages, have handſome ſervices of plate, and without exception, keep their ſtuds, as well as ſets of handſome carriage horſes.

The ſecond claſs conſiſts of ſuch a ſtrange mixture of characters, and of ſuch various deſcriptions of occupations, being nearly half the inhabitants, that it is difficult to aſcertain their exact criterion and leading feature. They are however, hoſpitable, generous, and friendly; but for want of a proper knowledge of the world, and a good education, as well as from their continual intercourſe with their ſlaves, over whom they are accuſtomed to tyrannize, with all their good qualities, they are rude, ferocious, and haughty, much attached to gaming and diſſipation, particularly horſe-racing and cock-fighting;

ing; in ſhort, they form a moſt unaccountable combination of qualities and principles directly oppoſite and contradictory, many of them having them ſtrangely blended with the beſt and worſt of principles, the moſt valuable and moſt worthleſs, many poſſeſſing elegant accompliſhments and ſavage brutality, and notwithſtanding all this inconſiſtency of character, numbers are valuable members of the community, and very few deficient in intellectual faculties.

The third claſs, which, in general, compoſes the greateſt part of mankind, are fewer in Virginia, in proportion to the inhabitants, than perhaps in any other country in the world; yet even thoſe who are rude, illiberal, and noiſy, with a turbulent diſpoſition, are generous, kind, and hoſpitable. We are induced to imagine there is ſomething peculiar in the

climate of Virginia, that ſhould render all claſſes of ſo hoſpitable a diſpoſition.

The lower people poſſeſs that impertinent curioſity, ſo very diſagreeable and troubleſome to ſtrangers, but in no degree equal to the inhabitants of New-England, they are averſe to labor, much addicted to liquor, and when intoxicated, extremely ſavage and revengeful; nay, at ſuch times, revenge inſults of long date, even after they have been amicably adjuſted; for the inſult ariſing in their minds, and the new friendſhip totally forgotten, they ſeek their object with keen attention, and ſatiate their paſſion with ſavage barbarity.

Their amuſements are the ſame with thoſe of the middling ſort, with the addition of boxing matches, in which they diſplay ſuch barbarity, as fully marks their innate

innate ferocious diſpoſition. An Engliſh boxing match, though a diſgrace to a poliſhed nation, is humanity itſelf, compared with the Virginian mode of fighting; for, previous to the combatants falling too, they enter into an agreement, whether all advantages are allowable, which are biting, gouging, and (if I may ſo term it) Abelarding each other. If theſe three preliminaries are agreed upon, they inſtantly fall to, and, after ſome little ſtruggling, ſeize upon their adverſaries with their teeth. What is very remarkable, and ſhews what coolneſs there muſt be in theſe diſputes, and that they are not wholly the effect of anger is, that whatever terms are ſpecified, if only one or two out of the three conditions, let the conflict be ever ſo ſevere, they never infringe on any other.

Vegetables not being over abundant in theſe back woods at any time, and there

a great deficiency of them in the Spring of year, the we adopt the cuſtom of the inhabitants who gather the leaves of the poke-plant, juſt as they ſhoot above ground and are tender and ſoft; it is no bad ſubſtitute for ſpinnage, and greatly reſembles it in flavor, yet great care muſt be taken in gathering of it, that it is neither too old, nor the ſtalk grown, for in that caſe, if in breaking off the upper ſprouts, you leave any part that is woody, the conſequence of eating it is inevitable death, as it purges the body to exceſs. Notwithſtanding this plant has this pernicious quality, the children eat the berries of it in the Autumn, without any ill conſequence attending it. The juice of the berries produces a moſt beautiful crimſon color, the fineſt in the world, but no method has yet been found to fix it, as cloths and woollens dyed with it fade very ſoon. Many perſons of great ingenuity and chymical

mical knowledge have endeavored, at fixing of this color, which is ſought after with as much eagerneſs as the philoſopher's ſtone, and no doubt would be equally as beneficial, if attained.

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER LXVI.

Jones's Plantation, near Charlottesville, in Virginia, May 12, 1779.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

A FEW days ago the flag of truce, with cloathing for the army arrived at Richmond, and among the great number of letters delivered out, I had a great mortification, as well as disappointment, not to receive a single one, surely my friends must imagine, at such a distance in these endless woods, that it is next to an impossibility a letter can reach me; it certainly would afford me great pleasure to hear that they were alive and well.

As to the reſt, I would diſpenſe with. I write continually from time to time; nevertheleſs, from the uncertainty of conveyance, the ſame accuſation may hold good againſt me.

Your old friend Clark, of Boſton, who is our Commiſſary of Proviſions, lately arrived from New-York, I ſpent a few days with him at his quarters; excluſive of the great fund of information and amuſement, which I derived from a number of Engliſh news-papers and magazines he brought with him, I was informed of the tranſactions that happen upon this continent, among the reſt, with a full account of the retreat of our army from Philadelphia to New-York.

You may recollect, in a former letter, I mentioned, that a good retreat was looked on as the *chef d'œuvre* of a commander, and in this retreat, I think Sir Henry Clinton has

has clearly evinced it, and demonſtrated, that he is equally as judicious and able as he is brave, in ſurmounting the innumerable difficulties and dangers he had to encounter: His way lay entirely through an enemy's country, univerſally hoſtile, and where he could expect no aſſiſtance; therefore, previous to his ſetting out on this dangerous retreat, he took the precaution of providing for all exigencies, and a large quantity of proviſions was a neceſſary, though not a ſmall incumbrance, as well as the baggage of the army which accompanied it, forming a line of march of near twelve miles in extent; eſpecially when it is conſidered this army had to paſs through a country interſected with hills, woods, rivers, defiles, and difficult paſſes; from theſe cauſes, the march of the army being ſlow, afforded the Americans time to aſſemble, which they readily did to harraſs it, and in a ſhort time Waſhington had

had collected a ſufficient force to render its movements extremely dangerous.

When Sir Henry Clinton obſerved the Americans were meditating an attack, he naturally concluded, it was with a view to cut off the baggage and rear of the army, which, from its extent, he was fearful might be eaſily accompliſhed. He told Clark to in form General Phillips, among other deſcriptions of the battle, that the day before he ſat upon a ſtone for near an hour viewing the baggage as it paſſed along, and debating in his own mind, whether he ſhould not give inſtant orders to deſtroy it. At length, as he concluded it would be a matter of great exultation with the Americans, and a diſgrace to the Britiſh army, he determined to preſerve it at all events; therefore, on the day of the action at Monmouth, he ſent forward the baggage, early in the morning.

ing, under the care of General Knyphauſen, in order that it might proceed without moleſtation.

The various movements, and poſitions of both armies in that engagement, and the iſſue of it, as you muſt have ſeen it in Sir Henry Clinton's official account, I ſhall paſs it over, only giving you this opinion of that battle, which he ſent by Clark to General Phillips---after having given a particular deſcription of it, Sir Henry Clinton drew ſome rough ſketches of the various grounds and poſitions taken during the action. At length, recollecting himſelf, he ſaid, "Clark, you muſt "not take theſe, for if the Americans "find them on you, they'll certainly hang "you; therefore, only tell General Phil-"lips, '*that on that day I fought upon* "*velvet*,' he will fully underſtand me."

A very

A very ſingular circumſtance took place in that battle, which fully marks the coolneſs and deliberation, though in the heat of action, of Sir Henry Clinton: As he was reconnoitring, with two of his Aid de Camps, at the ſhort turning of two roads, they met with an American officer, exceedingly well mounted upon a black horſe, who, upon diſcerning them, made a ſtop, and looked as if he wiſhed to advance to ſpeak to them, when one of Sir Henry Clinton's Aid de Camps fired a piſtol at him, and he inſtantly rode off. Sir Henry was much diſpleaſed at his Aid de Camp, and cenſured him for being ſo haſty, adding, he was confident that the man wiſhed to ſpeak to him, and perhaps, might have given intelligence that would have been very eſſential, remarking, that when he was in Germany laſt war, and reconnoitring with Prince Ferdinand, a man rode up in a ſimilar manner,

manner, and gave ſuch inttelligence as decided the fate of the day.

The weather becomes very unpleaſant, being for the moſt part of the day intenſely hot; notwithſtanding, the poor negroes are expoſed to the heat all day long, hoeing tobacco, even at noon, when the rays of the ſun are ſcorching; yet, with all this heat, they ſcarcely perſpire; there certainly muſt be ſome natural endowments, through which theſe poor creatures are able to withſtand this exceſſive heat; it cannot be their color, for we well know that black attracts the rays of the ſun more than any other, and therefore imagine it muſt proceed from the oily ſubſtance continually oozing out of the pores; for I remarked, even in the coldeſt weather, their ſkins always appear gloſſy, and certain it is, they are conſiderably ſmoother than ours, which muſt proceed from the cauſes I have aſſigned. I

obſerved

obſerved, from the negro to the mulatto, and they have their various tinges; they all perſpired in proportion, the further they remove from the black, and white people conſiderably more than any.

Having mentioned that there are mulattoes of various tinges, it may not be amiſs to inform you from whence it ariſes, and no doubt, but you will be ſurprized, when I tell you it is by the planters having intercourſe with their negroes, the iſſue of which being a mulatto, and having a connection with that ſhade becomes lighter; as an inſtance, I remarked at Colonel Cole's, of whom I have made mention; there were mulattoes of all tinges, from the firſt remove, to one almoſt white; there were ſome of them young women, who were really beautiful, being extremely well made, and with pretty delicate features; all of which I was informed, were the Colonel's own. I

could not help reflecting, that if a man had an intercourſe with his ſlaves, it was ſhameful in the extreme, to make his own offspring ſo; for theſe mulattoes work equally the ſame as thoſe who come from Africa: To be ſure, you may ſay, it is a pleaſant method to procure ſlaves at a cheap rate. I imagine there could not be leſs than twenty or thirty mulattoes of this deſcription, at Colonel Coles's, notwithſtanding he has a very agreeable and beautiful wife, by whom he has had eight children.

You know as to the principal employment of the poor negroes, I ſhall now give you a deſcription of the method to cultivate and cure the grand ſtaple commodity of this province, tobacco.

This plant is a native of America, and of very ancient uſe, though it was neither ſo generally cultivated, nor ſo well manufactured,

factured, as it has ſince the province has been ſettled with Europeans; for the Indians made uſe of it, by gathering the leaves as it grew ſpontaneouſly: The plant, at its proper height, is nearly as tall as a middle ſized man, the ſtalk is ſtrait, hairy, and exceeding clammy; the leaves grow alternately of a faded yellowiſh green, and towards the lower part of the plant of great magnitude.

The ſeeds of tobacco are firſt ſown in beds, from whence they are tranſplanted the firſt rainy weather into a ground diſpoſed into little hillocks, ſomething ſimilar to our hop gardens; in about a month's time from their tranſplanting, they grow about a foot high, they then top them and prune off the ſuckers and lower leaves, and then, with the greateſt attention, are cleaned twice a week from weeds and worms, by which you will perceive what immenſe labor there muſt be on a large

plantation, where they grow nothing but tobacco. In about ſix weeks after being topped and pruned, the plant attains its full growth, and then begins to turn browniſh, and theſe marks are the criterion by which they judge the tobacco to be ripe.

The plants are thus cut down as faſt as they ripen and are heaped up; and as much as is gathered in a day lies in this ſtate a night to ſweat; the next day it is carried to the tobacco-houſe, which is ſo conſtructed, as to admit of as much air as is requiſite, and at the ſame time keeping out the rain; the plants are then hung ſeparately to dry for four or five weeks, and the firſt moiſt weather after, they are taken down, for unleſs the plants were damped, they would crumble to duſt, they are then laid upon ſticks, and covered up cloſe to ſweat for a week or two longer; then the negroes ſtrip and ſort them,

them, the top being the beſt, and the bottom the worſt tobacco; they then put the leaves into hogſheads, or form them into rolls; wet ſeaſons muſt be carefully laid hold on for this laſt proceſs, otherwiſe the tobacco will not be ſufficiently pliable. The cultivation of this plant may appear extremely ſimple, but it is impoſſible to deſcribe to you the immenſe labor, care and fatigue there is attending it, from the firſt ſetting the ſeeds to the packing it in hogſheads, and the great anxiety the perſon who ſuperintends it has for through the whole proceſs it requires the utmoſt ſkill and judgment.

Travelling in this country is extremely dangerous, eſpecially if it is the leaſt windy, from the number of rotten pines continually blowing down; after a ſtorm, it is no uncommon thing to turn into the woods ſix or ſeven times in the ſpace of a mile, to paſs the trees that have

been blown into and choak up the road; even in calm weather it is not altogether ſafe, for there are old rotten pines, diveſted of all their branches, which totter with the leaſt breeze. An accident happened a few days ſince, by the falling of one of theſe trees, in which Madame de Reideſel, with two of her children, had a very narrow eſcape: as ſhe was going to the barracks in her poſt-chaiſe, when the carriage had paſſed a wooden bridge (which are of themſelves very terrific, being only ſo many rough logs laid acroſs beams, without any ſafe-guard on each ſide) an old rotten pine fell directly between the horſes and the chaiſe, but providentially did no other damage, than cruſhing the two fore-wheels to pieces and laming one of the horſes.

Not being overſtocked with freſh proviſions, I accompanied ſeveral other officers to the woods, to procure a few rabbits; if

if the dogs once get ſcent of them they are ſoon taken, for they do not burrow as ours do in England, but run up hollow trees, which they will climb to a conſiderable height, but from which place of refuge they are taken by putting up a hickory ſapling, ſplit at the end and twiſted in their ſkins. As we were employed in catching theſe rabbits, the dogs kept an inceſſant barking at the branch of a tree, and when we came up to them, we found an opoſſum, ſuſpended at the extremity of the branch by its tail, which this creature always does when purſued; we ſent a ſervant up the tree, who ſhook him off, and he fell among the dogs, from whom he did not make the leaſt attempt to eſcape, but appeared as if dead. It was taken and carried home, all which time it ſhewed no other ſigns of life than gently breathing; it was put in a court-yard, where it could not eſcape, and we watched it for near half an hour, during which it

never moved, but lay as dead; at laſt, it gently raiſed its head, looking all around, and not perceiving any danger, immediately ran off. We opened the door and let out the dogs, who purſuing it, the creature lay down as before, without ſhewing any ſigns of life, nor would they meddle with it, but were returning back; we went out and ſet the dogs at it, and notwithſtanding two ſpirited ſpaniels worried and ſhook, nay, even ſnapped its very bones, which we could diſtinctly hear, the creature never ſhewed any ſymptoms of life. After the dogs had worried it, and broke almoſt every bone in its body, which, perhaps you will ſay, did not reflect much credit to our humanity, a heavy ſtone was dropt on its head, to end its tortures; and even then, at parting with life, it ſcarcely ſtruggled; but this mode of feigning death, is what preſerves this creature from the mountain cat, and other carniverous animals.

A few

A few days ago, I went with ſeveral officers to ſee a a diverſion peculiar to this country, termed quarter-racing, which is a match between two horſes, to run a quarter of a mile in a ſtraight direction, and near moſt of the ordinaries, there is a piece of ground cleared in the woods for that purpoſe, where there are two paths about ſix or eight yards aſunder, which the horſes run in, this diverſion is a great favorite of the middling and lower claſſes, and they have a breed of horſes to perform it with aſtoniſhing velocity, beating every other for that diſtance with the greateſt eaſe. I think I can, without the leaſt exaggeration, aſſert, that even the famous Eclipſe could not excel them in ſpeed, for our horſes are ſome time before they are able to get into full ſpeed, and theſe are trained to ſet out in that manner the moment of ſtarting. It is the moſt ridiculous amuſement imagineable, for if you happen to be looking another

ther way, the race is terminated before you can turn your head; notwithſtanding which, very conſiderable ſums are betted at theſe matches. We ſtayed and ſaw ſeveral, and then returned, as we were given to underſtand, that after the races were finiſhed, the day was concluded with ſeveral of thoſe horrid boxing-matches I deſcribed to you in my laſt, and that two or three daring fellows had ſaid they would ſeek a quarrel with the Britiſh officers; therefore we left theſe buck-ſkins to fight by themſelves, a-propos, it may not be amiſs to explain this epithet which was given to the Virginians, by the New Englanders, (in retaliation for their calling them Yankees) in alluſion to their anceſtors, being hunters, and ſelling buck, or rather deer-ſkins, for there are no roe-bucks in Virginia.

Theſe races are only among the ſettlers in the interior parts of this Province, for they

they are much laughed at and ridiculed by the people in the lower parts, about Richmond and other great towns; at Williamſburg, is a very excellent courſe for two, three, or four mile heats, where there are races every Spring and Fall; they run for purſes are generally raiſed by ſubſcription, and the horſe that wins two four-mile heats, out of three, is entitled to the prize, which is one hundred pounds the firſt day's running, and fifty pounds every other day, and theſe races commonly laſt a week; at which very capital horſes are ſtarted, that would make no contemptable figure at Newmarket.

There are two ſorts of inſects extremely troubleſome, which are the wood-tick, and the ſeed-tick; the former are about the ſize, and greatly reſemble a bug, reſorting moſtly upon trees and ruſhes, from which, if they fall upon you, they

they fix their proboſcis into the pores of the ſkin, and ſuck the blood till they are of an enormous ſize, and then drop off; they are exceedingly troubleſome to the cattle; the latter derive their name from not being much larger than ſmall ſeed; theſe are chiefly upon the long graſs, and if they get on you, being ſo ſmall, they enter the pores of the ſkin, which occaſion a violent irritation, and if rubbed, is attended with very dangerous conſequences, as it inevitably brings on an inflammation, and ſometimes a mortification; the only mode of preventing any of theſe conſequences, is to fumigate the parts affected with tobacco, which penetrating the pores, deſtroys the inſects.

There is a ſhrub peculiar to this province, that bears a ſmall flower, which the inhabitants term the bubby flower, it reſembles that which grows on clover graſs, and has peculiar qualities, for it retains its

grateful

grateful and odoriferous perfume for a length of time after being gathered, and as it withers, encreaſes; the name given to the flower ariſes from a cuſtom that the women have of putting this flower down their boſoms, letting it remain there till it has loſt all its grateful perfume.

Having ſome buſineſs with Colonel Bland, of whom I made mention in a former letter, I went to his houſe juſt as he had mounted horſe, but he, with the politeneſs which, but in juſtice to him, I muſt ſay, he ſhews to the Britiſh officers, diſmounted, and invited me in, and after communicating my buſineſs, upon my taking leave of him, notwithſtanding his politeneſs and attention, I could not help ſmiling at the pompoſity, and the great importance he aſſumes, to make himſelf appear to us conſequential; for to convince us that he was converſant with the French language, having mounted his horſe

horſe without his ſword, he called to a negro, he had purchaſed from one of the French Weſt-Indian iſlands, to bring it him, which the fellow did without the ſcabbard; when the Colonel, in great anger, ſaid to him, *Donney moi, donney moi,* and after great heſitation, *donney moi mon ſcabbard.*

We have been of late greatly perplexed with the paper money, not only by that iſſued from Congreſs, but that iſſued by theſe States, they both having been counterfeited; the former, though not altogether, is in part refuſed in conſequence of it, and the latter is entirely ſtopt, and new impreſſions are iſſued, which the Governor and Aſſembly conceive will not eaſily be counterfeited, as it is made upon paper difficult to be obtained in theſe parts, nor have they arrived to ſuch perfection of making paper as to manufacture it; indeed, throughout

America

America they are greatly deficient in this art, as moſt of their news-papers are printed upon blue, or elſe coarſe white paper, ſimilar to that uſed by ſhopkeepers, but the paper of this new emiſſion, is the ſilver paper uſed by hatters, great quantities of which were found in a veſſel that was captured, and was ſeized on by the Governor for this purpoſe: excluſive of the great loſſes that we conſtantly experience with paper money in general, we have ſuffered much by this new emiſſion, as likewiſe by the great depreciation of the Congreſs money, as the exchange at preſent is after the rate of five hundred paper dollars for one guinea.

The depreciation of Congreſs money ariſes from the vaſt quantity of the counterfeit, which any perſon who hazards the riſk, may have gratis, at New-York, to circulate throughout the province, and to point out to you what confuſion there muſt

muſt be at the concluſion of this unhappy conteſt, on whichever ſide it may terminate, when I inform you, that there are many perſons now in actual poſſeſſion of plantations, which they purchaſed with the counterfeit money they brought from New-York. As I have repeatedly mentioned in ſeveral of my letters, various circumſtances concerning paper money, and thinking they may not be unacceptable, I have encloſed a few dollars in this letter.

Yours, &c.

LET-

AMERICAN DOLLARS.

THE UNITED COLONIES

THREE DOLLARS

THREE DOLLARS. No. 19384

THIS Bill entitles the BEARER to receive Three SPANISH milled DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to a Resolution of CONGRESS, passed at Philadelphia, July 22, 1776.

EXITUS · IN · DUBIO · EST.

THREE DOLLARS.

CONTINENTAL CURRENCY

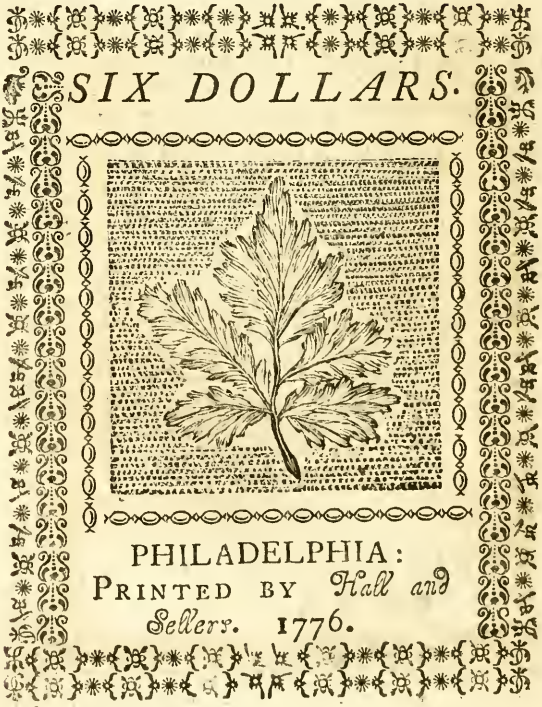
REVERSE.

THREE DOLLARS

Philadelphia: PRINTED BY Hall & Sellers. 1776.

AMERICAN DOLLARS.

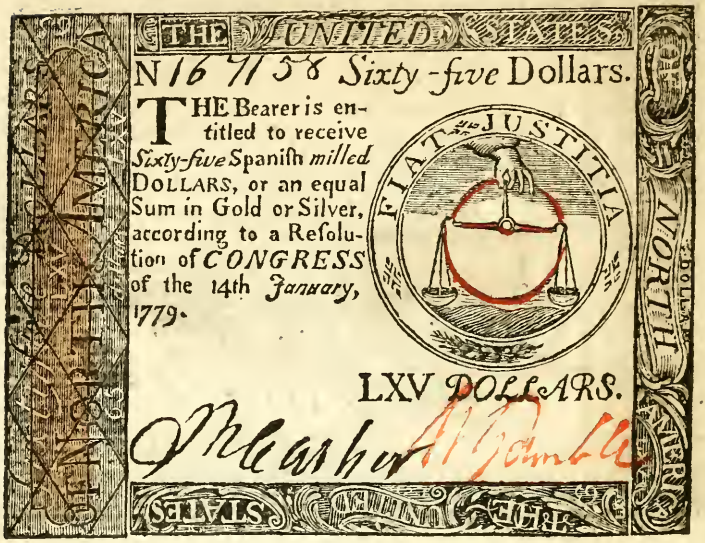
REVERSE.



AMERICAN DOLLARS.

REVERSE.

AMERICAN DOLLARS.



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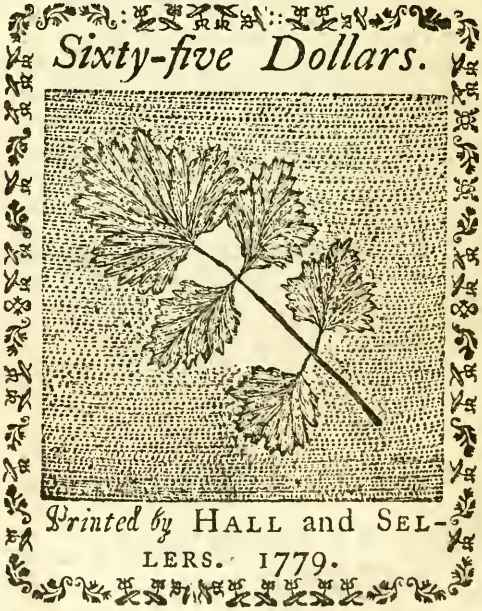

LETTER LXVII.

Richmond, in Virginia,
July 14, 1779.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOU will naturally conclude, at receiving another letter from this place, that the kind reception I met with when laſt here, induced me to pay a ſecond viſit; but however pleaſant ſuch a journey would be, my preſent one is not only very diſagreeable to myſelf, but has proved extremely ſo to others; my buſineſs being to communicate General Phillips's orders, that none of the officers are

to reſide at a greater diſtance from the barracks than twenty miles.

On my way to this place I ſtopt and ſlept at Tuckahoe, where I met with Colonel Mead, Colonel Laurens, and another officer of General Waſhington's ſuite.--- More than once did I expreſs a wiſh the General himſelf had been of the party, to have ſeen and converſed with a character, of whom, in all my travels through the various provinces, I never heard any one ſpeak diſreſpectfully, as an individual, and whoſe public character has been the admiration and aſtoniſhment of all Europe.

The converſation, in general, turning upon horſes, Colonel Mead was prizing his as being remarkably high ſpirited, which prevented its falling into the hands of a party of our light dragoons, as his negro, who had the care of it, was looking after forage, who was ſurprized, purſued,

ſued, and nearly ſurrounded by the party, in a field, encloſed with a prodigious fence, near nine feet high; the poor negro, fearful of himſelf, and dreading his maſter's diſpleaſure, in caſe he loſt the horſe, run him at the fence, which he leaped over, and rode off into the woods, to the aſtoniſhment of the dragoons; the Colonel attributed the ſafety of his perſon to the ſwiftneſs of this horſe at the battle of Monmouth, having been fired at and purſued by ſome Britiſh officers as he was reconnoitring. Upon the Colonel's mentioning this circumſtance, it occurred to me, he muſt have been the perſon that Sir Henry Clinton's Aid de Camp had fired at; and requeſting to know the particular color of his horſe, he informed me it was black, which convinced me it was him; when I related the circumſtance of his meeting Sir Henry Clinton, he replied, he recollected in the courſe of that day, to have met ſeveral Britiſh officers, and one

of them wore a ſtar. Upon my mention ing the obſervation Sir Henry Clinton had made to his Aid de Camp, the Colonel laughed, and replied, " Had he known it " had been the Commander in Chief, he " ſhould have made a deſperate effort to " have taken him priſoner."

At Goochland Court-houſe, I was informed in what a ſpirited manner Colonel Randolph had reſented the illiberality of ſome of his neighbours, who had inſinuated and threatened to ſet fire to ſome valuable mills, on account of his hoſpitality to the Britiſh officers: At the next court day, after he had heard of this report, he in a very animated ſpeech ſtated, that no one had a right to ſcrutinize into his private concerns, that his public character was well known, and that no one could with more zeal and perſeverence ſupport the cauſe of the Americans than he had done, and concluded with offering

offering a reward of five hundred pounds for the diſcovery of thoſe who had made uſe of thoſe threats. Since this tranſaction, the Colonel has paid more attention to the officers, acting truly conſiſtent with the principles of independence, and to ſhame his countrymen for their want of liberality.

I was detained near two days in my journey to this place, on account of the overflowing of the river, at what is termed the Point of Forks, where James River divides, and was rather ſurprized at this ſudden riſing of the water, as it had not rained for ſeveral days, but on enquiry found, that any fall of rain, unleſs extremely violent, never encreaſed the water till ſome time after, during which it collects from the mountains, and ruſhes in amazing torrents; the waters were ſo encreaſed, that they had overflowed the banks of the river for many miles, and as it

comes down with great impetuoſity from the mountains, it waſhes away the earth, which being of a red caſt, appears like a torrent of blood. Since the waters have abated, there has been caught a great number of ſturgeons and rock-fiſh, at the falls of this place: Indeed fiſh is at this ſeaſon in great plenty, eſpecially eels, which are of a great ſize, and caught in weirs; numbers of which are upon James River, above the falls, and indeed upon moſt of the rivers and creeks; theſe weirs are conſtructed of ſtones laid acroſs the river of the uſual height of the current, and brought to a point in the center, where is placed a wicker baſket, or a wooden box, in which they catch great quantities of fiſh.

I think nothing more fully evinces the real diſtreſſes of the inhabitants in general, throughout America, and how great the ſpirit of perſecution and oppreſſion reigns throughout

throughout all the provinces, as the amazing emigrations to a new ſettlement, at a place called Kentucky, where the ſoil is extremely fruitful, and where there are abundance of buffaloes, the country around, for a great number of miles, is an extenſive plain, with very few trees growing on it. New diſcoveries are continually making, as to the vaſt extent of the continent of America, and in ſome future day it may be learnt, what the boundaries are to the weſtward. This new ſettlement is near a thouſand miles from this place, nevertheleſs, thoſe travelling to it, though to ſo great a diſtance, and perhaps have left comfortable houſes and plantations, which have been the labor of their whole lives to clear and bring to perfection, appear chearful and happy, pleaſed with the idea, that they will be free from the tyranny and oppreſſion of the Congreſs, and its upſtart dependants. Their mode of travelling greatly reſembles that

of the patriarchs of old, for they take with them their horſes, oxen, ſheep, and other cattle; as likewiſe all kinds of poultry. On my journey to this place, I ſaw a family ſetting off for this new ſettlement, leaving behind them a neat habitation, which appeared ſurrounded with every requiſite to make it at once the manſion of content and happineſs. As to the manner of quitting it, that favorite poet, Dr. Goldſmith, has moſt charmingly deſcribed it in the following lines:

" Good Heavens! What ſorrows gloom'd that parting day,
" That called them from their native walks away;
" When the poor exiles, every pleaſure paſt,
" Hung round the bowers and fondly looked their laſt."

Nor can I more forcibly deſcribe the family's ſetting out on their journey, than he has done----where he ſays,

" The good old ſire, the firſt prepared to go
" To new-found worlds, and wept for other's woe;

" But

" But for himſelf in conſcious virtue brave,
" He only wiſh'd for worlds beyond the grave;
" His lovely daughter, loveliet in her tears,
" The fond companion of his helpleſs years;
" Silent went next, neglectful of her charms,
" And left a lover's for a father's arms;
" With tender plaints, the mother ſpoke her woes,
" And bleſt the cot where ev'ry pleaſure roſe;
" And kiſt her thoughtleſs babes with many a tear,
" And claſpt them cloſe in ſorrow doubly dear,
" Whilſt her fond huſband ſtrove to lend relief,
" In all the ſilent manlineſs of grief".

The heat of the weather is at preſent very intenſe, and renders travelling unpleaſant, eſpecially on horſe-back, the rays of the ſun are ſo very powerful in the middle of the day, that neither yourſelf nor your horſe are able to withſtand it, and you can only travel in the mornings and evenings. The inhabitants jog on in a vehicle called a ſulky, a kind of one horſe chaiſe, but conſtructed juſt large enough to contain one perſon; they ſay theſe are not ſo fatiguing to the horſe as a per-

a perſon's riding on its back. In travelling on horſe-back, you muſt either walk or gallop your horſe, as the motion of trotting is too fatiguing for yourſelf and the beaſt.

At every plantation you paſs by, the peach trees preſent their fruit, to allay the parching thirſt the heat occaſions; and it is deemed no treſpaſs to ſtop and refreſh yourſelf and your horſe with them; if the owner of the plantation perceives you gathering, he will come and direct you to the tree that bears the beſt fruit, for the peaches of this country are of various ſorts; and though they are in ſuch abundance, that they feed the hogs with them, yet there are very few except in gentleman's gardens, which have that flavor and juice of thoſe that grow in England.

Having

Having ſeen the proceſs of making peach brandy, I no longer am ſurprized at this ſpirit having ſuch pernicious effects when drank to exceſs, and how unwholeſome it muſt be taken in ever ſo ſmall quantities; for after gathering the fruit, it is put in large vats, where it remains till it is in ſuch a ſtate of putrefaction, as to be extremely offenſive to approach it, in this ſtate the peaches are preſſed and the liquor that comes from them is diſtilled; from whence the cuſtom aroſe to let the peaches be in ſuch a putrified ſtate, I never could learn; for upon aſking ſeveral of the inhabitants if they bruiſed the peaches as ſoon as gathered, and preſſed the liquor from them, whether the flavor and ſtrength of ſpirit would not be ſuperior, the only anſwer I could obtain was, that they believed it might, but the other was the uſual mode.

The

The town of Richmond, as well as the plantations around for ſome miles, has been in imminent danger, as the woods have been on fire, which for ſome time paſt has raged with great fury, and that element ſeemed to threaten univerſal deſtruction; but providentially, before it had done any material damage, there fell a very heavy rain, which nevertheleſs, has not altogether extinguiſhed it, as it is daily breaking out in places, but not ſo violent but it can be eaſily prevented from ſpreading.

During the Summer months, theſe fires are very frequeut, and at Charlotteſville I have ſeen the mountains on a blaze for three or four miles in length, they are occaſioned by the careleſſneſs of waggoners, who, when night approaches, after they have unharneſſed the horſes, fed them, pannelled them, and tying a bell round their necks, turned them looſe in the

the woods to graze, make a large fire to warm them when they ſleep, which on purſuing their journey the next morning, they neglect to extinguiſh, this communicating to the dry leaves which lay on the ground, ſpreads rapidly and cauſes theſe dreadful and dangerous conflagrations.

To-morrow I leave this place, to return Charlotteſville, when I ſhall embrace the next favorable opportunity to write, this I ſend by the flag of truce that is returning to New-York, and in hopes it may ſafely reach you, I remain,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER LXVIII.

Jones's Plantation, near Charlottesville, in Virginia, Aug. 4, 1779.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

ON my return from Richmond, I witnessed the mode that renders the Virginian rifle-men so expert in the use of arms---as great numbers were assembled, shooting at marks, and which I understand, long before the commencement of the war, was the constant diversion in this country; so certain are they of hitting, that they are not fearful of holding the board at arm's length; nay, some are so little apprehensive of danger, that they will

will place it between their legs for another to fire at.

There is an inſect, termed the fire-fly, which in itſelf is a great curioſity, being really a perfect phoſphorus: for a conſiderable portion of its life, moſt of the interior parts of its body being at times luminous, and from whence it emits rays of light for a great part of the night, by means of two glandular ſpots, that are placed between the head and ſhoulders; nevertheleſs, though theſe luminous rays iſſue naturally from the inſect, while awake it ſeems to poſſeſs power of interrupting them at will, and then theſe ſpots are opake; though, as I obſerved moſt of the internal parts of theſe inſects emit a light, yet the thickneſs of its cover prevents it appearing through any other place but thoſe conſtituted by nature for the purpoſe; yet, on extending the rings that cover the different parts of the body a little

little aſunder, you may obſerve the ſame light to iſſue.

By the light of one of theſe inſects, if held between the fingers, and moved gradually with the luminous ſpots over the chryſtal of a watch, you can with eaſe tell the hour; and ten or twelve of them put into a clear phial, will give ſufficient light to read or write by very diſtinctly.

Theſe inſects make their appearance in the evening, and are to be ſeen for a conſiderable part of the night; they are extremely unpleaſant to travellers at a late hour, being at times ſo numerous, as to perfectly dazzle the eye, and by their obſcure intervals and ſudden glare, the ſight is diverted from every object of danger that at night preſents itſelf; an inſtance of which lately happened, that had near been fatal to an officer, who, loſt in the bye paths in the woods, by the reaſon of

theſe

theſe inſects, did not perceive a tree that was not entirely blown down, but reſted on another, againſt which he came with ſuch violence as to be ſtunned, and on regaining his ſenſes, found that in falling from his horſe, he had broke one of his legs, and he remained in that ſtate till the next morning, when he was found by a negro, who conducted him home.

You may recollect, in a former letter, I mentioned what a lawleſs ſet the lower claſs were, and of their ferocious diſpoſition; an inſtance has recently occurred, wherein the moſt wanton cruelties were intended to be put in execution againſt an officer of the artillery, who, in the moſt miraculous manner, made his eſcape from theſe brutal ſavages, as they were conducting him to the place where they intended to perpetrate their horrid purpoſe.

The officer was quartered at the plantation of one Watſon, a wretch who is reckoned an adept in gouging, and who prepares his nails for that purpoſe, He has an agreeable, but by no means a pretty woman, for his wife, and on account of the common civilities in ſupplying the officer with poultry, milk, &c. which he regularly paid for; this ignorant fellow pretended to be jealous, and communicating his ſentiments to ſome neighbours of a ſimilar diſpoſition to his own, they concerted a ſcheme to be revenged of the officer.

Accordingly, a few days after, they broke into his chamber at the dead of night, but the noiſe awaking him, he had juſt time to ſeize his ſword, with which he defended himſelf for ſome time, till it broke, when he was overpowered by his landlord and three other ruffians. who made him put on his cloaths, and

and after tying his hands behind him, led him into the yard, and placing him on his own horſe, they ſet out with him armed with muſkets, to proceed to another of theſe deſperadoes, who reſided about two miles diſtant, to conſult on the mode of revenge---only conceive what muſt have been the ſituation of his mind when in their way to this neighbours houſe, theſe fellows were conſulting whether they ſhould cut his throat and ſecrete the body, or caſtrate him and roll him down a ſteep rock.

Arriving at the plantation, they took him off the horſe and conducted him into the houſe, the owner of which declined any concern in the tranſaction, and diſſuaded the others from it, but they were ſteady to their bloody purpoſes; the ruffians then deſired ſome peach brandy toddy, which they drank till intoxicated, all this time conſulting what they ſhould

do with the officer. The villain Watſon, who particularly ſuppoſed himſelf to be aggrieved, and was the firſt inſtigator of this baſe plot, occaſionally preſented his piece, and threatened immediate vengeance. At length the dawn of day appearing, the wretches as if conſcious of their iniquitous proceeding, remarked it would ſoon be light, and reſolving to put the laſt of their threats in execution, they quitted the houſe, mounting the officer on his horſe, and proceeded to the ſpot where they were to perpetrate it, which was at the foot of a mountain, near a very ſteep precipice.

The ſituation of the officer was truly dreadful, for however reſigned he might be to meet his fate, the manner of it was moſt lamentable; in the hands of American deſperadoes, who are worſe than ſavages, revengeful and drunk, alternately preſenting their muſquets and vowing inſtant death.

When

When they had proceeded with him near three miles, it was quite day light, they then judged it neceſſary to haſten their pace, fearful of meeting any one, and by now and then making the horſe trot, it looſened the cord with which the officer's hands were tied; perceiving this, and after ſome little ſtruggle, finding he could releaſe his hands, he very prudently waited an opportunity till he came to ſome road he was acquainted with. After they had proceeded about half a mile further, very near the place they were to conduct him to, he diſcerned a bye path which led to the barracks, inſtantly diſengaged his hands, ſeized the bridle and ſpeaking to his horſe, which had been an old quarter-racer, it ſet off full ſpeed. Theſe wretches all dicharged their pieces at him, but owing to the thickneſs of the wood and their intoxication, he eſcaped, and arrived ſafe at the barracks.

This

This matter was repreſented to the Governor of the province, by the General, at the ſame time deſcribing the inhabitants, and their place of reſidence; the anſwer from the Governor was, that he was extremely concerned at it, but at preſent the civil power was of little uſe, the officers not daring to make uſe of their authority among theſe back-woods men, as it endangered their lives; and he had only to recommend the officer to be on his guard, and not quit the barracks, and that at night, for his perſonal ſafety, he had wrote to the Commanding Officer of the continental troops, to place a ſerjeant's guard at his houſe: yet, notwithſtanding the wretches are acquainted with this circumſtance, they have had the audacity to hover about the barracks, in order to ſeize him; but it having been intimated to them, that the American Commanding Officer had orders to apprehend them, and

ſend

ſend them down to the Governor at Williamſburgh, they have deſiſted in their attempts. I think there needs not a more convincing proof to ſhew the anarchy and confuſion at preſent exiſting in America, and that all pretenſions to civil government are ideal, I aſſure you, my dear friend, Congreſs, aided by the military, is the only ruling power at preſent; they are deſpotic, and their orders enforced by the military with as arbitrary a ſway as that with which the King of Pruſſia governs his dominions.

The ſhrub which ſupplies our manufactures with cotton, is much cultivated in this Province, and the inhabitants of the lower ſort, through the ſcarceneſs and difficulty of procuring clothing for themſelves and their negroes, pay greater attention to it at preſent than tobacco, this plant is of a quick luxuriant growth, and riſes

riſes from five to ſix feet in height, diſperſing a number of branches as it ſhoots, it requires a dry ſoil, and thrives beſt in grounds already tilled, for though the plant flouriſhes more in freſh lands, yet from its luxuriance, it produces more wood than fruit, it is planted in regular walks, and at a moderate diſtance from each other, for the branches to ſpread, when it is grown to the height of five or ſix inches, the ſtems are pulled up except two or three of the ſtouteſt, which are cropped twice before the end of Auguſt; this precaution is abſolutely neceſſary, as the wood bears no fruit till after the ſecond cropping; and if by neglect the plant is ſuffered to exceed four feet high in its growth, the crop will be greatly inferior in quality and quantity, and the fruit difficult to gather.

The fruit that the cotton ſhrub bears, proceeds from a flower which blows at the

the extremity of its branches, the piſtil of which turns to a ſhell of the ſize of a pigeon's egg, and when the cotton contained in it is ripe, it burſts and expoſes the ſeeds wrapt up in the native flocks to the ſun; when the greateſt part of them are thus opened, the negroes gather them, and the ſeeds which are naturally mixed with the cotton are cleaned by means of a machine called a gen, which is made of two ſmooth rollers placed cloſe and parallel to each other in a frame, and move in contrary directions by means of different wheels at the oppoſite ſide of the machine, which are put in motion by the foot, the cotton being put to theſe rollers, while they move round, it readily paſſes between them, bearing the ſeed which are too large for the interſpace behind. What paſſes in this operation is afterwards hand picked to clear it from the ſmall dirt that comes

comes with the cotton through the machine, and then it becomes fit for uſe.

The carding and ſpinning of cotton is the chief employment of the female negroes, for ſince the inhabitants have been deprived of our Engliſh cottons, they manufacture a ſort themſelves, little inferior to that made at Mancheſter, and almoſt all the families in this Province, both male and female, are cloathed with their own manufacture, the ſuperior claſs as an example to their inferiors, who are compelled by neceſſity.

The weather being ſo extremely hot, woollen cloaths are inſufferable, therefore from neceſſity, and as is the cuſtom of the country, the officers wear cotton habiliments; the cotton of which mine is

is made I obtained from my landlord, and ſaw the whole proceſs of its growth and manufacture, from the ſeed being ſown, till it came out of the loom.

I remain,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER LXIX.

Jones's Plantation, near Charlottesville, in Virginia, Dec. 12, 1779.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

CONSIDERING the innumerable difficulties and inconveniences which the colonies have laboured under in maintaining their independency, and their successes appear astonishing, such as could only be effected by that unanimity which universally prevails among the leading and conspicuous characters in each state; and it is no less surprizing that in their strenous support of public measures, the internal arrangement of their affairs should

ſhould be neglected, and by ſuch neglect hazard a general confuſion. In this ſtate, at preſent, their internal concerns, merchandizes of all kinds, and the common and neceſſary articles of life are at ſuch enormous prices, that few can procure them, and for want of them all claſſes are highly diſtreſſed; Congreſs have adopted various meaſures to remedy theſe evils, but their endeavours have been fruſtrated by a few monopolizing wretches at Philadelphia and other great cities: to this is owing much of the public diſtreſs, which becomes a ſcource of hindrance and diſcouragement in the proſecution of the various deſigns and undertakings of Congreſs.

But of all the arduous and trying ſituations they have had to encounter, none has proved more difficult than the preſent, which they are uſing their utmoſt endeavours to overcome, and if not effected, they

they muſt bid farewel to all hopes of gaining independency, and this is the depreciation of their paper money. From the firſt emiſſion of bills at the commencement of the war to the preſent period, they have, by the neceſſity of the times, iſſued near forty millions ſterling of continental dollars, and what contributes ſtill more to the depreciation, is the immenſe ſums of counterfeit money iſſued from New-York, and other places in our poſſeſſion.

Therefore Congreſs wiſely foreſeeing the indiſpenſible neceſſity of removing all doubts and diſtreſs, that the united ſtates were unable to redeem their bills, and that raiſing more money by a new emiſſion would encreaſe the paper in circulation, and be the cauſe of ſtill more decreaſing its value, have diſtributed throughout the the colonies their reſolve, in order to remove thoſe apprehenſions that were daily

gaining

gaining ground, in which after ſtating the great depreciation of their currency, by the means of ſelfiſh men, who diſregarded the great object they were then, and had for ſeveral years been ſtruggling to obtain, and the enormous ſums of counterfeit money their enemies had cauſed to be put in circulation with that of Congreſs, they had thought proper to declare, that after ſuch a date, no currency ſhould paſs, but that iſſued from that time; and ſenſible that as many perſons might loſe conſiderable ſums by reaſon of counterfeit money, whatever ſums of any ſort were brought to the treaſury at Philadelphia, they ſhould receive one dollar of the new emiſſion, for every forty dollars. And the more fully to eſtabliſh the credit and value of the new currency, the Congreſs pledged their public faith, to pay its value in gold or ſilver ſpecie.

This

This has had the desired effect of Congress, that of solely keeping up the spirits of the people; for it must be obvious to every one, that it is impossible to fulfil their engagements, and to go to Philadelphia, to procure specie for a single dollar, would perhaps only be insulted and laughed at. That this opinion prevails, the present depreciation is a convincing proof; for we obtain forty-five dollars of this emission for one in specie.

Among the various fruits upon this continent, there is one that seems peculiar to this province, named the persimmon, and which, until meliorated by several sharp frosts, is not eatable, or scarcely to be tasted. Many of us were deceived by this fruit, when ripe and hanging on the trees, it having the appearance of an Orlean plumb; but which we found possessed of such powerful astringent qualities, as to contract the mouth to such a degree,

that

that it was ſeveral hours before we regained the ſenſe of taſte; of this fruit the inhabitants, in ſome parts, brew a liquor called perſimmon beer.

Animals reſorting to the words are extremely fond of its flavor, particularly the bears, who come from a great diſtance in queſt of it, eſpecially on the approach of winter, at which time the inhabitants chace and moſtly kill them, as they are unable to regain the mountains before the dogs overtake them. If they reach the mountains, the purſuit after them is attended with danger, on account of the vaſt number of carniverous animals reſorting there in abundance. An accident was near happening to an officer who, with ſome others, and a few inhabitants, were in purſuit of a bear at the foot of the mountains; at the very inſtant, a ferocious animal, which I deſcribed in a former letter, called the mountain cat,

was going to ſpring upon him. One of the inhabitants obſerving it, with his rifle ſhot him through the head, and it fell dead to the ground.

There is in this province, what I never recollected to have ſeen in any other, a large ravenous kind of bird that feeds on carrion, nearly as big as an eagle, called a turkey-buſtard, from having red gills, reſembling thoſe of a turkey, whence it derives its name. It ſeems to be a ſpecies of the kite, hovering on the wing like that bird, and being carniverous. The inhabitants kill them for the ſake of their feet, which diſſolved into an oil, is eſteemed very ſalutary in the ſciatica, old aches and pains.

You would ſcarcely credit, from the laborious and harraſſing life the negroes lead in this country, that the paſſions of love and jealouſy ſhould act very powerfully

fully on them, naturally concluding, that their whole ideas would concenter in one, that of rendering their miſerable ſituation a ſtate of comfort, yet ſo forcibly do thoſe paſſions operate on their minds, they are continually poiſoning each other, thro' diſappointment, or jealouſy: what is remarkable, they can adminiſter the poiſon that it ſhall affect the life for a longer or a ſhorter period, agreeable to their ideas of revenge on the object. The owner of our plantation has had ſeveral female negroes poiſoned, ſome of whom have lingered out a life for ſix or eight months after, and others again, only a week or a fortnight. There was one remarkably ſtout wench, who expired on the eighth day after being poiſoned; the decay of nature was remarkably viſible from the ſecond day, and ſhe only complained of a violent pain in her head, and a conſtant ſickneſs at the ſtomach; when medical aſſiſtance was called in, it was pronounced impoſſible to coun-

teract the poiſon, unleſs what the poiſon conſiſted of, could be known which though in frequent uſe amongſt the negroes, had never yet been diſcovered.

Although we have been now near a twelvemonth in this province, the ſoldiers fare little better than on their firſt arrival; for the greateſt part of the ſummer they have been thirty and forty days, at different periods, without any other proviſion delivered to them than the meal of Indian corn. Great quantities of ſalt proviſions have arrived at the barracks, but owing to ſome defect in airing, and the heat of the climate, are in a ſtate of putrefaction; ſome perſon adviſed the American Commiſſary to bury the meat in the earth for a few days, and it would regain its purity, which, when dug up, and although ſwarming with vermin, he inſiſted was exceedingly good, only a little tainted with the weather, which the utmoſt care could not prevent,

prevent, and ſerved it out to the ſoldiers as ſo many days ratio of meat. All complaints by General Phillips to the Governor of the Province were of little avail, he receiving for anſwer, that it was the concern of Congreſs, and what did not affect the government of his ſtate. There are hopes, however, that the diſputes of the ſoldiers will be remedied, as both General Phillips and General Reideſel, who were a ſhort time ſince exchanged, and gone to New York, purpoſed, in their way to that city, to obtain an audience with General Waſhington, and lay thoſe grievances before him; if that was impracticable, it was the intention of the Generals to lay the ſituation of the troops before Sir Henry Clinton, and through him to ſeek redreſs, by an application to General Waſhington. As to redreſs from the Americans, little is to be expected, though their Commander in Chief poſſeſſes humanity that reflects the higheſt honour on him; he has not

been able, notwithſtanding ſo much loved and eſteemed, to diffuſe that benevolence and god-like virtue, among thoſe who look up to him for protection. The only hope we can any way rely on is, that Sir Henry Clinton will, in compaſſion to the ſufferings of the troops, uſe every exertion in his power to effect a general exchange this winter. Should that take place, I may venture to affirm, that he will not have braver troops in his army; for the ſoldiers, from the cruelty and ill uſage they have continually experienced, ſince they became priſoners, will fight to deſperation.

Great numbers have deſerted, with a view to get to New-York, rather than endure ſuch diſtreſs, they certainly had no other inducement, as many of them communicated to their officers their intentions, previous to their deſertion, requeſting a certificate, that on that day there was due

to

to them ſo much pay and ſo many years clothing, which we could refuſe no more than we could their deſertion, but to be candid, rather than be witneſs of the hardſhips the men experienced, which were out of our power to redreſs, we rather connived at it, as we well knew that producing certificates from their officers, if they were ſo fortunate as to reach New-York, would enſure them a favorable reception with the Commander in Chief. Near an hundred have reached New-York, and about ſixty or ſeventy have been taken up, brought back and confined in a picketed priſon near the barracks, where numbers would have actually been ſtarved, had not relief been afforded them by the officers, who furniſhed them with proviſions at their own expence.

Among the deſerters, there was a party of twenty who appointed a ſerjeant at their head to command them, and previous to

ſetting off, ſwore a moſt ſolemn oath, ſtrictly to adhere to a ſet of rules drawn up by the ſerjeant, in the nature of the articles of war, but the penalties inflicted in caſe of breach of any of theſe articles were ſingularly curious---being no leſs than death---immediate inſtantaneous death---to be hanged upon the next tree, and others equally as tremenduous, the only one tending to mercy was cutting off the offenders ears. The whole party excepting one, who was apprehended as out upon a ſcout for proviſions, got ſafe to New-York. I ſhould obſerve to you that this diſſertion is among the Britiſh troops, the Germans not feeling that *amor patriæ*, beſides they are fully content, being upon the ſame pay as the Britiſh troops, which is near four times as much as they receive in their own country, and for what reaſon it is impoſſible to ſay, but the Americans ſhew more indulgence to the Germans, permitting them to go round the country

to

to labor, and being for the moſt part expert handicrafts, they realize a great deal of money, excluſive of their pay, and as the generality of the German troops are only ſoldiers raiſed for the war, upon their return to their own country, will become perſons of property, excepting the regiments of the Prince of Heſſe Hanau's body guards, and General Reideſel's diſmounted dragoons, which are two well-diſciplined regiments, the reſt of German troops were ſuch as little ſervice could be expected from, and when we reflect on the manner they were raiſed, who could be ſurprized that they did not act with more alacrity during the campaign; for the mode of obtaining theſe ſubſidies, was as follows: When application was made by our court to Germany for troops, the Prince cauſed every place of worſhip to be ſurrounded during ſervice, and took every man who had been a ſoldier, and to embody theſe and form them into regiments,

ments, he appointed old officers, who had been many years upon half pay, to command them, or on refuſal of ſerving, to forfeit their half pay, thus were theſe regiments raiſed, officered with old veterans, who had ſerved with credit and reputation in their youthful days, and who had retired, as they imagined, to enjoy ſome comforts in the decline of life. Only picture to your imagination, enſigns of forty and fifty, commanding of troops not much younger, and judge how proper they are for an active and vigorous campaign, in the thick woods of America.

It being the univerſal opinion throughout the army, that we ſhall remain priſoners the remainder of the war, the Britiſh officers have contributed to render their ſituation as comfortable as the nature of the country will poſſibly allow, and to promote aſſociation, they have erected a coffee-houſe, a theatre, and a cold bath,

to

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to

ENCAMPMENT of the CONVENTION ARMY.

At Charlotte Ville in Virginia after they had surrendered to the Americans

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to tenſe up the relaxed ſtate of the body, the intenſe heat of the climate occaſions.

Having repeatedly mentioned to you the barracks, and their ſituation, and as any deſcription would fall exceedingly ſhort, I have ſent you an accurate view of them. To form a juſt conception of the diſtreſſes and ſituation of the army on its firſt arrival, you are not to conſider the place as the drawing repreſents it, but as a thick wood, and not a ſingle tree cut down.

It is with the utmoſt concern I inform you of the death of your old friend W----, of our regiment, the relation of Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart. who I am perſuaded, fell a martyr to the dire effects of that pernicious liquor, peach brandy, the circumſtance attending his death being remarkable, I ſhall relate them. He had been

been on a viſit a few days to ſome officers, and having made a little too free, during that time he became in a ſtate of inſanity, the firſt inſtance he ſhewed of it was getting up in the dead of the night, and walking ſeveral hours in the ſnow barefooted, till his feet were froſt-bitten, he had been abſent near four hours before he was miſſed, and upon his companions going in ſearch of him, he was found parading before the door, they conducted him into the houſe, and applying the uſual remedy, all danger of a mortification was removed from being froſt bit. The next morning he was frequently aſking for a knife to cut a ſtick, which his companions always contrived to evade giving him, and on their quitting Charlotteſville, at which place they had ſlept, they intended to conduct him to the barracks for advice, but on his expreſſing a deſire to return to his own quarters, they indulged him in his requeſt. It is ſaid that

perſons

perſons laboring under that moſt calamitous affliction, are poſſeſſed of extreme cunning, to deceive thoſe they ſuſpect of watching their actions. He, poor fellow, fully demonſtrated it, for keeping up a very rational converſation as they rode along, not diſcovering the leaſt ſymptoms of any one inſane, till they arrived at an exceeding ſteep hill, at the foot of which was a rivulet, where they ſtopt to water their horſes, ſeizing this opportunity, he left them and rode his horſe as faſt as he could make him go up the hill, his two companions purſued, but he being better mounted, was ſoon out of ſight, they followed the track of his horſe in the ſnow, till it turned into the woods, and concluded any further purſuit would be vain by themſelves, they haſtened to their quarters, which was not a mile diſtant, for aſſiſtance. By this time night had come on, nevertheleſs, a party of ten or a dozen with lanthorns, went various roads,

and

and into the woods, which they traverſed beſt part of the night, but could not obſerve the leaſt trace of him; the next morning they renewed the ſearch, and about five miles off, in a bye place, found his horſe faſtened by the bridle to a fence, cloſe by a rivulet, to which they could trace the feet of a man upon the ſnow, they followed the track till they came upon the ice, which led them to the bend of the current under a hanging rock, where the river had not been frozen over, and which, by the rapidity of the current at that place, ſeldom did, and there it is imagined he fell in, before he came to this the ice twice gave way, but being ſhallow, he had ſcrambled out. His companions could not long remain in ſuſpence, for ſending his ſervant back for one of his ſhoes, on his return they found it exactly fitted the track in the ſnow, and from his horſe being ſo near, it left little room for doubt. However, ſome ſhort time after,

all

all doubts were removed, as the body was found---poor man---I did the laſt ſad office with a heavy heart---but his memory will be ſincerely lamented, by thoſe that knew him,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER LXX.

Barracks, Charlottesville, in Virginia,
April 18, 1780.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

LITTLE has transpired of intelligence worth relating, unless a repetition of grievances and hardships, during a long and severe Winter, and all hopes or expectation of any exchange taking place; there has been a meeting of Commissioners from both armies for that purpose, but they could not agree to the different proportions of exchange, as to the number of soldiers in lieu of an officer. As to my sentiments upon this head, or any the least

leaſt tending to politics I am debarred from, as this letter muſt undergo the examination of the American Commanding Officer; therefore, being confined, I ſhall give you my obſervations and remarks on the cuſtoms of the country, and whatever may concern our army, as they occur to memory, which, though you allow to be tolerable, is not ſo great as Cæſar's, who forgot nothing but injuries.

Since I have been in Virginia I never could aſſign the reaſon why the oxen and ſheep ſhould be ſo ſmall, having ſuch abundance of graſs during the ſummer, in the unlimited range of woods; but the winter has fully demonſtrated the cauſe, which ariſes from the planters paying ſuch little attention to their cattle during the inclement ſeaſon, by which means they ſtarve the young ones, or at leaſt ſtint their growth, ſo that they but very ſeldom grow ſo large as if they

were better managed, being content if they can but ſave their lives; and though they ſuffer them to be ſo poor in the winter, yet they preſently grow fat again in the ſpring, which they eſteem ſufficient for their purpoſe. This is the reaſon their beef and mutton is neither ſo large nor ſo fat as in England; their fleſh, however, is eſteemed delicate, and has certainly a fine flavor.

Among the curious plants growing in America, none contribute more to the beauty of the ſpring than the dogwood, which grows in great abundance, and, when adorned with its numerous white flowers, appears delightful. The wood is very hard, and breaks into ſmall fibres; for want of ſuch neceſſary implements as tooth-bruſhes, we ſubſtitute this wood. The inhabitants have a cuſtom of tying a branch of this tree round the cattles' neck,

when they fall down exhauſted by heat in the ſummer, imagining that its virtue contributes to their recovery.

There is another tree rather peculiar to America called the tulip tree, and it creates aſtoniſhment, in the ſpring to behold trees of ſuch a magnitude, for they are very large and lofty, bearing a flower for a fortnight together in ſhape, ſize and colour reſembling tulips. The leaves grow in a very peculiar ſhape; from whence the tree has, in ſome places, the appellation of the old woman's ſmock, imagining a reſemblance below the leaves.

The log huts in which the ſoldiers reſide, although erected ſuch a ſhort time, are become extremely dangerous, the timbers being nearly deſtroyed by an inſect that is in the bark of the tree, which, for want of the nouriſhment it receives

from the turpentine whilſt the tree is growing, preys upon the ſolid part of the timber; and theſe inſects, from the deſtruction as well as the noiſe they make, have the appellation of ſawyers, and is certainly a very proper one; for I have ſeen timber, nearly the circumference of one's waiſt, which had not been cut down above ſix months, that upon ſtripping off the bark, there was nothing but the appearance of ſaw-duſt, with a vaſt number of theſe inſects, reſembling a large grub-worm.

The ſoldiers have been ſo indifferently ſupplied with proviſions, the barracks ſwarm with rats of an enormous ſize, and notwithſtanding each hut has a cat or two, they are very troubleſome, and with every precaution, they are continually deſtroying the men's cloaths and bedding during the night; it is no very uncommon thing to ſee them running ſix

or

or ſeven, one after the other, in the interſtices of the logs with which the huts are conſtructed.

You may recollect, on our firſt arrival in this province, I mentioned that a number of duels were fought, and what partly occaſioned them. They have of late been frequent amongſt the German officers, but from different motives---diſputes at gambling. Their manner of fighting is rather ſingular. Each party goes to the field with a ſecond, and after ſtripping to the ſhirt, advancing, ſhake each other by the hand, draw their ſwords, and cut and ſlaſh each other till one party relinquiſhes the conteſt; and, unleſs the inveteracy is very obſtinate, the conflict is over upon the leaſt appearance of blood on either ſide; this is deemed a ſufficient proof of their courage and juſtification of their honor. Moſt of the duels among them have ended

in this manner except one, where the combatants mutilated one another in a moſt ſhocking manner, as nearly to endanger each other's life.

It is no little pleaſure to me that I am unreſtrained from communicating and opening myſelf freely to you, ſince I began this letter, as an opportunity has occurred of ſending it without inſpection by an officer who has received an account of his being exchanged. By the mode that I intended to ſend this, which was by a flag of truce returning to New York, I wrote ſeveral others; ſome were franked by Col. Bland and others by Col. Sherwood, the American Officers commanding the troops at the barracks. The former behaved with true politeneſs and liberality of ſentiment; he only required an officer to pledge his word and honor, as a gentleman, there was nothing political contained in the letter, on affirming which,

which, the Colonel desired the letter to be sealed, and on it wrote, Examined, and signed his name. The latter, with an inquisitiveness, accompanied with rudeness and impertinence, not only read every letter, sentence after sentence, but made animadversions on them; the Colonel, like most persons possessed of an impertinent curiosity, met with a severe rebuke from Lieutenant Charlton of the 20th regiment, but I am afraid he was too ignorant to take the sense of it. After he had read his letter, and seeing the name of Charlton signed to it, the Colonel exclaimed, "Charlton, Charlton! I "recollected a captain of a ship of that "name, who had a relation that was "a name-sake of mine."---"Very proba-"bly, Sir," replied Charlton, "and there "may be one of that name in my fa-"mily; but I'll venture to say, if there "is, he possesses more liberal ideas and "principles than the American *Sherwoods*."

Some ſhort time ſince I became acquainted with a Colonel Walker, who has lately been elected a Delegate to repreſent this State in Congreſs. The uſual hoſpitality of the country preſides at his houſe; but what renders it unpleaſant, the family will chiefly converſe on politics, but always with moderation. I was much pleaſed with a very noble and animated ſpeech of the Colonel's father, a man poſſeſſing all his faculties with ſtrong underſtanding, though conſiderably above eighty years of age. One day, in chat, while each was delivering his ſentiments of what would be the ſtate of America a century hence, the old man, with great fire and ſpirit, declared his opinion, that "the Ameri-"cans would then reverence the reſolution "of their forefathers, and would eagerly "impreſs an adequate idea of the ſacred "value of freedom in the minds of their "children, that it may deſcend to the "lateſt poſterity; that if in any future

"ages

" ages they ſhould be again called forth " to revenge public injuries, to ſecure that " freedom, they ſhould adopt the ſame " meaſures that ſecured it to them by their " brave anceſtors."

To you, ſo converſant with the world, I need not ſay, that there are a claſs of people continually at variance with themſelves and all the world, and whom nothing can pleaſe. When one of ſuch a deſcription gets into the army, you cannot conceive how very unpleaſant it is to have any concerns with him, eſpecially if he is regardleſs of life. Senſible that an officer muſt accept a challenge, he does not heſitate to deal them in abundance, and ſhortly acquires the name of a fighting man; but as every one is not willing to throw away his life, when called upon by one who is indifferent of his own, many become condeſcending, which this man immediately conſtrues into fear,

and

and preſuming upon this, acts as if he imagined no one dare contradict him, but all muſt yield obedience to his will.

One of this unhappy diſpoſition has lately broke forth from the recluſe manner in which he lived, having only one aſſociate, of a ſimilar diſpoſition, and wiſhed to ingratiate himſelf with the officers at large. There was no keeping him at a diſtance by formal civilities, as he would intrude at all times and ſeaſons. Being a little known to an officer who reſides with us, he came one day to dinner; and with the idea that he would lay under no obligation for it, invited the whole meſs to dine with him. On the day appointed, there came on a moſt violent ſnow ſtorm, and in the morning we diſpatched a ſervant with an apology. He ſent word back, " that, by God, he had provided " dinner, and he expected us;" and we had

had no alternative, but either to encounter a ride of near four miles in a heavy ſnow ſtorm, or, in all probability, a madman the next morning. The day was, without exception, the moſt unpleaſant I ever paſſed in my life; for after we arrived at his quarters, on his having occaſion to quit the room, his companion ſhewed us a brace of piſtols that lay under his pillow, which he conſtantly ſlept with, and which he had freſh loaded and primed that morning, that if any diſpute aroſe, it might inſtantly be decided without leaving the room.

Such conduct cannot be conſidered in any other light than inſanity, for a pretended indifference for life does not proceed from true courage; if theſe vaunters meet with one equally as indifferent, and receive a check, they cannot brook it. Such was the fate of this unhappy man, and ſo overwhelmed was he with ſhame,

that

that he put a period to his exiſtence, in the following ſingular manner.

One Winter's evening, when ſitting round the fire in the coffee-room, having ſome occaſion or other to leave it, he laid his cane in one chair and his gloves in another, and on quitting the room, ſaid, "let me ſee who dare meddle with them before I return." In the interim an officer came in, who being very cold, took one of the chairs and drew near the fire; the company told him that they were Mr. ——'s chairs, and what he had ſaid, when he replied "Damn him, one chair is enough for his cane and gloves, and him too, I think."---- Shortly after his return, he enquired with eagerneſs, who had preſumed to meddle with his cane and gloves, when the officer told him he had, and that he thought in ſuch ſevere weather every man ought to be content with one chair, upon which he began to break out

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in a moſt violent paſſion, " that his dignity " and himſelf were inſulted in the groſſeſt " manner :" when the officer ſtopt him ſhort, by ſaying, " Mr. ——, I have often " heard of you as a fighting man, but " never was in your company before, now " Sir, I have only to tell you as to fight- " ing, I care as little about it as you do, " and, by God, Sir, if you ſay another " word on the ſubject, I'll throw you be- " hind the fire." From the moſt violent paſſion he became inſtantly calm, ſat down in his chair and never ſpoke another word, but in about ten minutes left the room. That he ſhould meet with ſuch a rebuff, accompanied with a threat, operated ſo powerfully on his mind, that the next morning he ſhot himſelf; and his man- ner of performing that deed was ſingular, as he was found in a ſhallow ſtream, where the water did not cover the body, with a piſtol in one hand and another on the bank loaded.

Numbers

Numbers of officers have lately been been exchanged; from whence the partiality proceeds I cannot ſurmiſe, but am inclined to think it muſt ariſe from the intereſt of their friends, at head quarters at New York. Notwithſtanding I am deſtitute of any one to make an application for my exchange, I am not without hopes it will ſhortly happen; for not long ſince an American officer, Capt. Van Swearingham, of whom I made mention as being taken priſoner during the campaign, viſited the Barracks. I immediately ſought him out, in hopes that, in return for the civility ſhewn him, his gratitude would prompt him to render me a ſervice. Accordingly, on waiting on him, he expreſſed great pleaſure at ſeeing me, but infinite regret at my being ſtill a priſoner, as he fully concluded that both Lieut. Dunbar, as well as myſelf, had long ſince been exchanged; and I had the mortification to find that, ignorant of our names,

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he had deſcribed our perſons to an officer of our army who was going to New York, and wiſhing to ſeize the favourable opportunity of ſerving his friends, ſaid they anſwered the deſcription, and giving the Captain their names, they were exchanged in lieu of us. However, as he was going directly to head quarters, it ſhould be his firſt buſineſs with Gen. Waſhington to effect our exchange. On taking my leave of him, your favorite adage of *Nil deſperandum* inſtantly occurred to my mind; and I am not without hopes, in a ſhort time, of once more viſiting my native ſhore.

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER LXXI.

Winchester, in Virginia, Nov. 20, 1780.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AT receiving a letter, dated from this place, you will perhaps conceive it is to acquaint you, that shortly after you'll see the person who wrote it. I am not, however, as yet, so fortunate; and not without just cause of apprehension, that the bustle and hurry of the campaign has obliterated from the memory of Capt. Van Swearingham, that such persons as Dunbar and myself exist. And when I inform you this town is not

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in the extent of our parole, your curiosity no doubt will be excited, as to the cauſe of my being at it; and your ſurprize will be no leſs, on being informed that the whole army are on their march, Congreſs being apprehenſive, from Lord Cornwallis's over-running the Carolinas, that it is his Lordſhip's intention, by forced marches, to retake our army.

About ſix weeks ago we began our march from Charlotteſville Barracks, the army moving in the ſame manner as we left New England; but as to the place of our deſtination, that is yet unknown: we underſtand it is to ſome of the northern provinces. At preſent we remain here, till a matter in diſpute is adjuſted by Congreſs between this province and Maryland, as the latter abſolutely refuſed the army's entering that ſtate, apprehenſive we were to remain there; in conſequence of which ſuch a body of men would greatly diſtreſs

the inhabitants in ſo ſmall a province; and they actually, in arms, oppoſed our croſſing the Potowmack.

You may naturally conclude the murmurs of the officers were great, having been given to underſtand that they were to remain at the Barracks till exchanged; and many had laid out conſiderable ſums to render their log huts comfortable againſt the approaching winter, as they had ſuffered ſeverely from the cold during the laſt, being unable to keep a ſufficient fire without imminent danger, as the chimneys were built, as is the cuſtom of the country, with wood; and therefore, to remove all fears of any accident, moſt of the officers had ſtone ones erected. You will ſcarcely credit it, when I tell you my miſerable log hut, that was not more than ſixteen feet ſquare, coſt between thirty and forty guineas in erecting. Some officers, who had reconciled their

their minds, with an idea that they ſhould not be exchanged till the termination of the war, had laid out great ſums in making themſelves comfortable habitations; for the Barracks became a little town, and there being more ſociety, moſt of the officers had reſorted there. The great objection to reſiding at them, on our firſt arrival, was on account of the confined ſituation, being not only ſurrounded, but even in the woods themſelves. I am apt to think that Col. Harvey, the proprietor of the eſtate, will reap great advantage, if the province ſhould not; as the army entirely cleared a ſpace of ſix miles in circumference round the Barracks.

After we quitted the Barracks, the inhabitants were near a week in deſtroying the cats that were left behind, which, impelled by hunger, had gone into the woods, and being ſo numerous, they were apprehenſive, by their encreaſe, they would in

a ſhort time be unable to extirpate; excluſive of which, there was reaſon to ſuppoſe they would become extremely wild and ferocious, and would be a great annoyance to their poultry.

We croſſed the Pignet Ridge, or more properly the Blue Mountains, at Wood's Gap, and though they are conſiderably loftier than thoſe we croſſed in Connecticut, termed the Green Mountains, we did not meet with ſo many difficulties; in ſhort, you ſcarcely perceive, till you are upon the ſummit, that you are gaining an eminence, much leſs one that is of ſuch a prodigious height, owing to the judicious manner that the inhabitants have made the road, which, by its winding, renders the aſcent extremely eaſy.

After travelling near a mile through a thick wood, before you gain the ſummit of theſe mountains, when you reach the top

top you are ſuddenly ſurprized with an unbounded proſpect, that ſtrikes you with awe and amazement. At the foot of the mountains runs a beautiful river; beyond it a very extenſive plain, interſperſed with a variety of objects, to render the ſcene ſtill more delightful; and about fifty miles diſtant are the lofty Allegany mountains, whoſe tops are buried in the clouds.

Wincheſter is an irregular built town, containing between three and four hundred houſes. It was laſt war, as it is at preſent, the rendezvous of the Virginian troops, in excurſions againſt the Indians. By an inhabitant who reſided in this town during the laſt war, I was informed, that before we reached Fort du Queſne, the country round about it was greatly ravaged by the Indians, who committed horrid barbarities, and the town itſelf was in great danger, and would certainly have been levelled with the ground, and its in-

habitants maſſacred, had not Col. Waſhington (the preſent famous General) erected a fort upon an eminence at the north end of the town, that fully protected it; notwithſtanding the Indians were ſo bold as to venture in ſight of the town, but never within reach of the fort.

The remains of this fort are ſtill to be traced. It appears to have been a regular ſquare fortification, with baſtions at each angle, and the length of the curtain between eighty and ninety feet. The barracks are ſtill remaining, which will contain, with eaſe and comfort, near five hundred men, but upon an emergency would contain twice as many, as is the caſe at preſent, there being near that number of our ſoldiers now quartered in them. Theſe barracks are conſtructed of logs, in the nature of thoſe at Charlotteſville, but upon a far more extenſive ſcale. Since the commencement of the war, the Americans

ricans have picketted them in, and converted them into a place of ſecurity for priſoners of war. There appears to have been ſome attempts to make a dry ditch round the fort; but from the rock being impenetrable, it could not be accompliſhed.

The water at Wincheſter is very unpleaſant to the taſte, which I am induced to believe ariſes from the limy nature of the ſoil. It affects ſtrangers with exceſſive gripings, which we ſeverely felt; and it was laughable enough to obſerve our morning ſalutations, accoſting each other with faces diſtorted with pain, and execrating the water and the country in general. The inhabitants ſay that it is a ſpecific againſt many diſeaſes.

It was no little mortification to be informed, that within a day's ride of each from Wincheſter, were a number of na-

tural curiosities, and that we were debarred from visiting them. Therefore I must describe them after the manner they were related to me by one of the inhabitants.

About thirty miles from Augusta Court House, there is a rock, which the inhabitants say was that which Moses struck with his rod, for out of the side of it bursts a torrent of water; and what adds to its beauty, the water, after running some distance through a meadow, rushes down a perpendicular precipice near two hundred feet deep.

Twenty miles from this place there is a most curious cave, running near a mile under a rock, in which are phænomena that I must leave philosophers to account for. These are two springs, the one being equal in heat to the warmest bath, and the other equal to the coldest; they are about a foot asunder, and separated by the natural

natural rock. As both ſprings poſſeſs many medicinal virtues, ſo each of them is made into convenient baths.

Near theſe ſprings is a river, which in ſome meaſure reſembles the river Mole: the only difference being, that the Mole, although it loſes itſelf under ground, at ſome miles diſtant makes its appearance again; whereas this river ſinks under a mountain and never more riſes, and therefore is very juſtly called Loſt River.

Two natural curioſities, within a morning's ride of Wincheſter, we did obtain permiſſion to viſit. The one was a cave or well, formed by nature; at certain periods a perſon may deſcend near two hundred yards, and at others it overflows in great abundance; by the inhabitants it is called the tide well, in alluſion to its ebbing and flowing. What conſiderably adds to this wonderful production of nature is, that

that for many miles around there is neither mountains, nor any running water, and it is ſituated in a level country. The other, although conſidered a curioſity in this country, cannot be deemed ſo by thoſe who have viſited the Peak in Derbyſhire; it being ſix or ſeven caves in a rock, that communicate with each other.

The Americans, for a length of time, flattered themſelves that France would ſend ſuccours and aſſiſt them, which report we conſidered merely raiſed to revive the ſpirit of the people, and to rouſe them from their lethargy; for at the commencement of the preſent year, their affairs were in ſuch a ſtate, that the majority were totally indifferent on which ſide the conteſt would terminate, ſenſible that their ſituation could not be more diſtreſſing. But to thoſe ſtrongly attached to the cauſe of America, judge how their hopes muſt have been revived, when intelligence came that

France

France had actually ſent them ſuccours, with aſſurances of aſſiſting them in the moſt effectual manner. From this period the Americans vauntingly boaſt, that it is impoſſible for Great Britain to overcome them, and that in a ſhort time they ſhall witneſs the Britiſh armies being driven from the continent of America. Equally as this intelligence raiſed their ſpirits, ſo did it depreſs ours; naturally concluding, that although France might take advantage of our unhappy conteſt with the Colonies, by ſeizing on our territories either in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, ſhe would not have been the abettor of Rebellion, eſpecially when it is conſidered ſhe had territories of her own nearly in the ſame predicament. But France! France! ſorry am I to ſay it, to gain a ſuperiority in political intrigues, you are indifferent by what arts or means it is accompliſhed.

In a former letter I deſcribed what an amazing ſtrong mode of defence block-houſes were; and a tranſaction has lately occurred, that not only reflects the higheſt encomiums of honor and bravery on thoſe that defended it, but is a very convincing proof of the veracity of my aſſertion.

This block-houſe was erected by a party of ſeventy American Loyaliſts, that took poſt on the ſhore of Hudſon's River, oppoſite New York, to ſecure them from a ſurprize, or ſudden incurſion of Waſhington's army, and not without juſt cauſe of apprehenſion; for a moſt furious attack was made upon them by near two thouſand of the Americans, with ſeven pieces of cannon, commanded by Gen. Wayne, and notwithſtanding a cannonade of three hours, almoſt every ſhot of which perforated the timbers, and ſeveral attempts to carry the place by aſſault, the enemy were repulſed

repulſed with great loſs, leaving behind many killed and wounded; and on their retreat the brave ſeventy purſued them, took ſeveral priſoners, and regained ſome cattle that they had plundered from the neighbouring plantations.

By an officer juſt left Waſhington's camp, we have received the melancholy account of the death of Major André, the Adjutant General of the Britiſh army, who was taken as a ſpy, in negociating a buſineſs with Gen. Arnold, which, if it had ſucceeded, would have nearly been the overthrow of the Americans. This officer was preſent at his execution, who ſaid, that he met his fate with that courage and manlineſs of behaviour, that deeply affected every one preſent, and that his ſevere deſtiny was univerſally lamented: ſo much was he eſteemed, that Gen. Waſhington ſhed tears when the rigorous ſentence was put in execution. When he found

found that his fate was inevitably fixed and determined, and that all interceſſions and every exertion of Sir Henry Clinton, to ſave his life, were in vain, he became perfectly reſigned; ſo extremely compoſed was his mind, that the night previous to his execution, he drew the ſituation of the Vulture ſloop, as ſhe lay in the North River, with a view of Weſt Point, which he ſent by his ſervant to a general officer at New York. The only thing that any way diſcompoſed him, or ruffled his mind, and at which his feelings appeared hurt, was the refuſal of Gen. Waſhington to let him die a military death. In regard to this circumſtance, the officer informed us, that Gen. Waſhington would have granted his requeſt; but, on conſulting the board of general officers who ſigned his condemnation, they deemed it neceſſary to put that ſentence in force, that was laid down by the maxims of war; at the ſame time evincing the ſincereſt grief, that they

were

were forced to comply with, and could not deviate from, the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms in ſuch caſes.

By the account this officer gave us of his being taken, it appears that Major André was too confident of being out of danger; for when the three men that took him priſoner accoſted him, they enquired whether he was of the Upper or Lower Party, [Here it is neceſſary to explain theſe to you---the Upper Party conſiſted of the partizans of the Americans, and the Lower Party of the American Loyal Refugees, they reſide in New York.] he replied of the Lower Party, naturally conceiving, from the ſmall diſtance he was from New York, they could be no other; upon which they undeceived him, and ſaid he muſt go with them, for he was their priſoner. When too late he perceived his miſtake, and endeavoured to convince them to the contrary, by producing

ducing a paſſport which he had obtained from Gen. Arnold, in the name of John Anderſon.

This ſeemed to have its intended effect, as they releaſed him, and ſuffered him to proceed without farther trouble; but he not gone many yards, when one of the young men recollecting that he appeared greatly confuſed, and that there was ſomething in the ſtranger's face that ſtruck him forcibly with an impreſſion of ſome peculiarity, inſiſted upon his companions returning to examine him more ſtrictly.

This recollection was deciſive and fatal to André, who was little accuſtomed to, or prepared for ſuch encounters, as the officer told us he confeſſed himſelf, in his letter to Gen. Waſhington, where he ſays, " He " was too little verſed in deception, to " practiſe it with any degree or hope of " ſucceſs;" for upon theſe young men returning

returning back, he offered them a conſiderable purſe of gold, a very valuable watch, and innumerable other temptations, with the faſcinating offers of permanent proviſions for life, if they would either let him paſs, or accompany him to New York. In vain was every lure, and every argument; they continued inflexible, ſteady to their purpoſe, and conducted him priſoner to Waſhington's head quarters.

Had Major André, when firſt accoſted, replied "of the Upper Party," he would have met with no hindrance. Had they been, as he ſuppoſed, of the Lower Party, he would have been taken priſoner upon making that declaration, and his perſon would have been eaſily recognized upon his arrival in New York; but the haſty declaration, that he was of the Lower Party, led to his unhappy deſtiny.

As it is much eaſier to point out errors than correct them, I ſhall quit this melancholy topic with obſerving, that it is very evident from the time Major André undertook his arduous commiſſion, till he met his ſevere fate, that he diſplayed a reſolution and ſtrength of mind requiſite for great actions, which no doubt would, at ſome future day, have rendered him an ornament to his profeſſion, and, by ſome brilliant atchievement, adored by his King and Country.

What are termed theſe Upper and Lower Parties are moſtly known to each other, and poſſeſs great inveteracy on both ſides; and it is no uncommon thing, when two parties meet, to obſerve the neareſt ties of kindred oppoſed to each other. Both parties range at large between the Britiſh and American lines, and it has more than once happened, when two parties have met at the ſame place, that there has been a ceſſation

a ceſſation of hoſtilities, they have ſat down to a good ſupper, and ſpent a jovial evening. At parting they agree to go in different directions, and after a certain ſpecified time have again met and fought moſt deſperately.

The Americans have circulated a report that there has been a great riot in London, that the Members of both Houſes of Parliament had been groſsly inſulted, that a number of houſes had been burnt and all the priſons ſet open, with other reports equally as ridiculous. We give the Americans great credit for raiſing them, as their motives are anſwered by it, that of keeping up the ſpirits of the people, and to impreſs their minds with an idea that Great Britain muſt relinquiſh the conteſt. They are too abſurd to be credited by an Engliſhman. Pray be particular in your next, if ſuch a thing has really happened, which it is almoſt too abſurd to

ſuppoſe. Surely we have enough to contend with abroad, without any broils at home. It is really too ridiculous and abſurd to imagine that ſuch an event has taken place, or to give it a moment's thought.

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER LXXII.

Frederick's Town, Maryland, April 12, 1781.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IN a few days after my laſt letter we left Wincheſter, to proceed on our march to this place, it being ſettled by Congreſs that the army is to remain here till ſome ſituation ſhould be fixed on; but the inhabitants think this only a deception, to grant permiſſion for entering the province, and that we are to remain in this town.

Quitting Wincheſter, we recroſſed the Blue Ridge at Williams's Gap, and in our

march to this place there was little worthy notice, except the Shennando River, which is exceedingly romantic and beautiful, with a variety of falls; and the water is so transparent, that the pebbles may be seen at the depth of seven or eight feet. There are plenty of trout and other fish; but it is not navigable even for canoes, on account of the innumerable rocks that are under water; and, in transporting goods down the river, the inhabitants make use of rafts. When we crossed, it was nearly frozen over.

Upon our arrival in this town, I was not so fortunate in obtaining such comfortable quarters, as when I last past through it; being obliged to put up at a miserable dirty tavern, with two other officers, at which we remained till the final determination of Congress, as it was fully thought we were to proceed further to the northward.

We

We remained only nine days at this tavern, and upon quitting it the landlord gave us the following curious Bill, which I send you by way of specimen of the American mode of charging.

1780.	Lieut. Anberry,			Dr.
Dec. 19.	To 3 breakfastes a 12 dollars	£.	13	10 0
	To 5 ditto for servants a 10 dollars		18	15 0
	To mug syder 30. 8 quarts oats a 1½ dollar 90		6	0 0
	To 3 diners a 15 dollars £. 16 17 6. 1 quart beer 45		19	2 6
	To 3 supers a 12 dollars £. 13 10 0. ditto servants £. 18 15 0		32	5 0
	To 9 quarts oats 5 1 3. 2 supers servants 75		9	16 3
20.	To 1 lodging 30. stabling and hay 3 horses a 12 dollars 13 10 0		15	0 0
	To 9 quarts oats 5 1 3. 3 breakfasts 13 10 0		18	11 3
	To 3 breakfasts for servants 11 5 0. mug syder 30		12	15 0
	To 4 diners a 15 dollars 22 10 4. 4 do. servants 15 0 0		37	10 0
	To 9 quarts oats 5 1 3. 2 mugs syder 60. 2 do. beer 90		12	11 3
	To 3 supers 13 10 0. ditto for servants 11 5 0		24	15 0

	To 9 quarts oats 5 1 3 - -		5	1 3
21.	Stabling and hay 3 horſes day and night		20	5 0
	To lodging 30 a 15 ds. 3 ditto a 12 ds. 13 10 0 - - -		15	0 0
	To 3 mugs beer 6 15 0. mug ſyder 30		8	5 0
	To 9 quarts oats 5 1 3. 9 qts. ditto 5 1 3. ditto 5 1 3 -		15	3 9
	To 3 ſupers a 12 ds. 13 10 0. ditto for ſervants 11 5 0 -		24	15 0
22.	To lodging 30. ſtabling and hay 3 horſes day and night 20 0 0 -		21	15 0
	To 3 quarts oats 5 1 3. 3 breakfaſts 13 10 0 - - -		18	11 3
	To 3 breakfaſts for ſervants 11 5 0		11	5 0
	To 18 quarts oats 10 2 6. diners 16 17 6		27	0 0
	To 2 mugs ſyder 60. mug beer 45		5	5 0
	To 3 ſupers 13 10 0 - -		13	10 0
23.	To lodging 30. ſtabling and hay 3 horſes day and night 20 0 0 -		21	15 0
	To 9 quarts oats 5 1 3. 3 breakfaſts 13 10 0 - -		18	11 3
	To 18 quarts oats 10 2 6. 3 diners 16 17 6 - -		27	0 0
	To 1 mug ſyder 30. mug beer 45 -		3	15 0
	To 3 ſupers 13 10 - -		13	10 0
24.	To lodging 30. ſtabling and hay for 3 horſes day and night 20 0 0 -		21	15 0
	To 3 breakfaſts 13 10. 15 quts oats 8 14 3 - -		21	11 3
	To corn 10 quts 7 10 0. Diners 16 17 6 - -		24	7 6

	To 2 mugs beer 90. 1 mug ſyder 30	6	0 0
	To 4 ſupers 18 0 0 - -	18	0 0
25.	To lodging 30. ſtabling and hay 3 horſes day and night 20 0 0 -	21	15 0
	To 3 breakfaſts 13 10 0. 3 diners 16 17 6 - -	30	7 6
	To 32 quarts oats 18 0 0. 3 ſupers 13 10 0 - -	31	10 0
26.	To lodging 30. ſtabling and hay 3 horſes day and night 20 0 0 -	21	15 0
	To 3 breakfaſts 13 10 0. 2 diners 11 5 0 - -	24	15 0
	To 3 mugs beer 90. mug ſyder 30 yeſterday - -	6	0 0
	To mug ſyder 30. diner 5 12 6. Bowl tody 60 - -	10	2 6
	To 2 quarts oats 22 6 -	1	2 6
		730	10 0
	To 4 quarts ditto 45 -	2	5
	True balance	£. 732	15 0
	To the hier of the dineing room, hard money - -	1	15

Errors excepted,

Per ROB. WOOD.

Jan. the 3d, 1781. Recd of Mr. Thos. Amberry, Seven hundred and thirty-two Pound fifteen Shillings, in full for the Paper Currency Account above.

Per ROB. WOOD.

After perusing the articles of the bill, and finding them just, as was customary, I asked the landlord what he would allow in exchange for hard money. He, being a staunch American, flew into a violent passion, saying, "He was surprized I "should make him such an offer; that "there were rascals enough already to "ruin their country, by selling and traf- "ficking in paper; and that, for his part, "he knew no difference between Con- "gress money and King George's." I begged him to be pacified; that in half an hour I would settle his bill; when, with the utmost insolence, he replied, "I "swear now, if it an't settled by twelve "o'clock, I swear I'll send the sheriff af- "ter you, and you'll soon see the inside of "that place," pointing to the prison op- "posite his house."

You'll no doubt be surprized, that, for the fellow's impertinence, I did not give him a horse-

a horſe-whipping, which, had it been in England, a landlord would hardly have eſcaped. But, my dear Friend, we are become perfect Stoics, and it requires an infinite torture to ruffle our temper in the leaſt. We have ſo long been accuſtomed to ill language and inſolence from the inferior ſort, that we really pay no more attention to it, than Gen. Phillips obſerved we ſhould to the cackling of ſo many geeſe.

On my quitting the fellow to go in ſearch of paper money, it occurred to me that he might employ ſome one to watch over me. I therefore went to the barracks and ſent a ſerjeant, who ſoon came back, when I returned and paid him his bill of ſeven hundred and thirty-two pounds fifteen ſhillings; and obſerving the item of one pound fifteen ſhillings in hard money, I tendered him the ſum in paper, retorting upon him his own words, that he knew

knew of no diſtinction. The fellow appeared much confounded and aſhamed; but as the charge was an agreement with his wife, who was to have it as a perquiſite, for the entire uſe of the room, I paid the half-joe excluſive of the bill: no doubt the fellow would not have made the leaſt ſcruple of conſcience to have taken the whole amount in ſpecie.

Your curioſity is raiſed to know at what rate I purchaſed the paper money to diſcharge the bill. Know then, that the enormous ſum of ſeven hundred and thirty-two pounds fifteen ſhillings, I diſcharged for about four guineas and a half. After this I think I need not mention any thing more of the depreciation of paper money.

It being determined by Congreſs that the army is to make ſome reſidence in this town, the men are quartered in very comfortable

comfortable barracks, that were built by the Americans ſince the commencement of the war, are better ſupplied with proviſions, and allowed many privileges, ſuch as working for the inhabitants permitted to go into the country to purchaſe vegetables, &c. and ſince the men have been priſoners they have never enjoyed ſo many comforts. Such treatment is more likely to have the deſired effect of Congreſs than ill uſage, in tempting them to deſert. So prevalent, indeed, has been deſertion in our regiment, that it is now reduced to ſixty men, including non-commiſſioned officers, and the other regiments are in proportion, all of which, in Canada, muſtered four hundred and fifty.

The officers are quartered in the town and plantations around. My quarters are at a Col. Beattie's, of the militia, who, though ſtrongly attached to the American cauſe,

cauſe, having a ſon in the Maryland regiment, in General Greene's army, is not without a penchant for a little of the *true touchſtone*. The plea he makes to his countrymen for admitting us into his houſe is, that as he has a large family and muſt provide for them in the beſt manner poſſible.

Siuce our arrival in this province a perſon has introduced himſelf to the officers as a clergyman, and as one ſtrongly attached to the Britiſh government. The inhabitants ſay that he was never ordained, and that he has created much confuſion in various families by diſavowing their marriage, he having no right to perform the ceremony. This has cut out abundance of work for the limbs of the law. He ſtill performs Divine ſervice at various churches, with all their regular duties. Whether his political principles are put on for the ſake of our company

pany and a little conviviality, I cannot pretend to say; but this much I can affirm as to his religious ones, that he follows St. Paul to a tittle, being "*all things to all men*:" for he will swear with those that swear, and drink with those that drink.

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER LXXIII.

Colonel Beattie's Plantation, near Frederick Town, in Maryland, July 11, 1781.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

NOTHING will more fully illuſtrate the tyranny and oppreſſion of Congreſs and its upſtarts in power, than reciting two of the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice, at the houſe of one Taylor, a Quaker, where Capt. Jameſon, of our regiment, is quartered. One of the collectors, for a tax of forty-eight ſhillings, took from the ſtable a beautiful horſe, worth near thirty guineas; and for another of about five or ſix pounds, they brought

brought carts, and conveyed away a large ſtack of hay, of near forty pounds value. This paſſive man (who, I ſhould inform you, was a true friend to Government, and in conſequence greatly perſecuted) made no other complaint than, "Well, "let them take---let them take all my "ſtock, my farm, and turn me out of my "houſe, I have that by me that will never "let me want in my old age."

From his attachment to his Sovereign, and ſpeaking his ſentiments, he was continually threatened with impriſonment; but that, and every other perſecution, he would bear with the utmoſt chearfulneſs and reſignation, concordant to the principles of his religion. Nevertheleſs, at times, the poor old man would fetch a heavy ſigh, as if his heart was burſting with grief, and exclaim, "Ah, well-a-day! "little did I think, after the labor of my

" youth, and training up a large family in " the fear of the Lord, this would have " been the reward of my old age. There, " friend, (pointing to ſome extenſive mea- " dows that were before his houſe) with " theſe hands did I clear that ground, and " many a weary night have I worked by " light of pine wood, to leave my chil- " dren an inheritance, which is daily threa- " tened to be taken from me." Here his fortitude would be overcome; and, after a little reſpite, his final exclamation was, " The Lord's will be done."

Oh, Americans! if this is the baſis on which you are to eſtabliſh your independence, ſurely you muſt think there will be a day of retribution! And though it may not fall on your heads, the next generation may have cauſe to curſe the calamities their forefathers have brought on them.

We

We daily expect to remove from this province, on account of the movements of Lord Cornwallis's army, which we underſtand is forming a junction with the troops landed in Virginia, under the command of Gen. Phillips and Gen. Arnold, and this ſtate are not without apprehenſions of a deſcent being made by the King's forces. Therefore to impede this progreſs, Gen. Waſhington has detached two ſtrong bodies, one of continental troops, under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette, and the other conſiſting of the Penſylvania line, under Gen. Wayne. They paſſed thro' Frederick Town laſt month, and appeared to be moſtly Scotch and Iriſh, with a great number of blacks. They were badly cloathed, and ſo extremely mutinuous and diſcontented, that their officers were afraid to truſt them with ammunition. I obſerved that they wore black and white cockades; the ground being the firſt color and the relief of the

other. On enquiring the cauſe, a very pompous American replied, " It was a " compliment to, and a ſymbol of affec- " tion for, their generous and magnani- " mous allies the French."

Our quarters have been rendered very diſagreeable to us by an unpleaſant circumſtance, the death of the Colonel's ſon, who was killed at the battle of Camden, in the Carolinas. He, as well as the whole family, have taken it much to heart, and the houſe has been ever ſince a ſcene of lamentation. What renders it ſtill more diſagreeable is, whenever we meet the Colonel, he ſeems extremely anxious to be revenged upon us. We are ſeeking out for other quarters, but they are very difficult to be obtained.

At Eaſter holidays the young people have a cuſtom, in this province, of boiling eggs in logwood, which dyes the ſhell crimſon,

crimſon, and though this colour will not rub off, you may, with a pin, ſcratch on them any figure or device you think proper. This is practiſed by the young men and maidens, who preſent them to each other as love tokens. As theſe eggs are boiled a conſiderable time to take the dye, the ſhell acquires great ſtrength, and the little children divert themſelves by ſtriking the eggs againſt each other, and that which breaks becomes the property of him whoſe egg remains whole.

To impreſs the minds of his children with their glorious ſtruggle for independence, as they term it, the Colonel has an egg, on which is engraved the battle of Bunker's Hill. This he takes infinite pains to explain to his children, but will not ſuffer them to touch it, being the performance of his ſon gone to camp; but now being ſlain, he preſerves it as a relic. The Colonel favoured us with a ſight of

it, and, conſidering the ſmall ſpace, the battle is very accurately delineated.

As we imagined, orders are arrived for the removal of the army to York Town and Lancaſter, at which places the officers are to be ſeparated from the ſoldiers, and are to be quartered at Eaſt Windſor in Connecticut. Brigadier Gen. Hamilton has expreſſed great diſpleaſure at this ſeparation, which is directly againſt the terms of the convention; but after Congreſs have broke the moſt eſſential point, it is vain to remonſtrate againſt ſuch proceedings. We are now in their power, and they act with us as beſt ſuits their plan. The General gave out in orders, that if it was the deſire of the troops, he would proteſt to Congreſs againſt the ſeparation; at the ſame time adding, he well knew it would be in vain. He ſtrongly recommended the ſoldiers to behave in every reſpect the ſame as if their officers

were

were preſent, and, though ſeparated, they ſhould remember that ſubordination was due to the non-commiſſioned officers, who ſtill had authority over them. The General lamented that he was unable to furniſh ſupplies of cloathing and other neceſſaries; therefore directed officers who had the payment of companies, to ſettle the men's accounts, and give them their balance to provide themſelves, which moſt of them will be enabled to do, as the generality have twenty or thirty pounds to receive. To military men it will appear ſurprizing, but there was a private in the company I paid who had forty-five pounds due to him.

The troops have greatly diminiſhed ſince they came to Frederick Town, not only by deſertion but death, as numbers have fell a ſacrifice to ſpirits, which are eaſily procured and at a cheap rate, as there are abundance of ſtills around the coun-

try, and the ſoldiers were in a continued ſtate of intoxication. I need not tell you of the inordinate paſſion that ſoldiers in general have for liquor, and what a difficult matter it is to reſtrain them from it; but where it is continually before them, next to an impoſſibility. Within this fortnight we have loſt two in a moſt melancholy way, who, during the abſence of the man that attended a ſtill on the Colonel's plantation, drank the liquor hot out of the pipe, and the next morning were found dead in their beds.

In a few days we ſet out on our march. If an opportunity occurs, I will write to you from Lancaſter; but you may depend, upon my arrival in Connecticut, to hear from

Your's, &c.

I have

I have unſealed this Letter, juſt to add a melancholy Poſtſcript, of which we have this moment received tidings, the loſs of that brave officer General Phillips, who died laſt month of a fever at Richmond. His ſkill and knowledge in all military concerns, not only in his early days received the approbation of that great commander Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, on various occaſions in the laſt war in Germany; but juſtified ſuch commendation by every part of his ſubſequent conduct: particularly in the unequalled duties, toils, dangers and hardſhips of our campaign. A circumſtance attended his death, ſimilar to the inhumanity that the Americans diſplayed at the interment of General Frazer. For them, whom we ſuppoſe were exaſperated, ſome excuſe may be pleaded; but that the Marquis de la Fayette, whoſe nation is ſo conſpicuous for the quinteſſence of *les petits attentions*, ſhould be guilty of ſuch conduct, is aſtoniſhing.

For

For notwithſtanding a flag of true was ſent to inform him, that acroſs the river, at ſuch a houſe, General Phillips lay dangerouſly ill, and at the point of death, and to ceaſe cannonading. This requeſt was denied, an inceſſant fire was kept up, ſeveral balls went through the houſe, and one through the adjoining room to where General Phillips lay, juſt as he was breathing his laſt, which diſturbing him, he exclaimed, "My God, 'tis cruel, "they will not let me die in peace."

LET-

LETTER LXXIV.

East Windsor, in Connecticut, Sept. 2, 1781.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

DISTRESSING and humiliating as the ſcene was, when we commanded our men to pile up their arms and abandon them on the plain of Saratoga, ſtill much greater was the ſeparation of the officers from the men at Lancaſter. On the morning it took place the regiments were paraded near the barracks, which are picketed in, and converted into a priſon. At a ſmall diſtance was drawn up a regiment of continental troops, the Colonel of which behaved

behaved extremely polite, ſaying, he ſhould not march the Britiſh troops to the barracks, till their officers informed him they were ready. When the Colonel was informed he might march the men, the American troops, forming a ſquare around the Britiſh ſoldiers, conducted them to the priſon.

The ſight was too deeply affecting, and we haſtened from the ſpot. Could you have ſeen the faces of duty, reſpect, love and deſpair, you would carry the remembrance to the grave. It was the parting of child and parent, the ſeparation of ſoul and body---it effected that which the united force of inclement ſeaſons, hunger and thirſt, inceſſant barbarity, adverſe fortune, and American inſults heaped together, could never have effected---it drew tears from the eyes of veterans, who would rather have ſhed their blood. As far as ſounds could convey, we heard a reiteration of "God

"bleſs

" bleſs your Honors." It was ſuch a ſcene as muſt leave an everlaſting impreſſion on the mind. To behold ſo many men, who had bravely fought by our ſide---who in all their ſufferings looked up to us for protection, forced from us into a priſon, where, experiencing every ſeverity, perhaps famiſhing for want of food, and ready to periſh with cold, they had no one to look up to for redreſs, and little to expect from the humanity of Americans.

It was extremely vexatious to be again diſappointed in viſiting Philadelphia, eſpecially when in ſight of it; but all entreaties to the Major who eſcorted us, for indulgence, were in vain. However we received ſome little compenſation in paſſing through Bethelem, at which place is a ſettlement of the Moravians.

The tavern at Bethelem is upon an exceeding good plan, and well calculated for

for the convenience and accommodation of travellers. The building, which is very extenſive, is divided throughout by a paſſage of near thirty feet wide. On each ſide are convenient apartments, conſiſting of a ſitting room, which leads into two ſeparate bed-chambers. All theſe rooms are well lighted, and have fire-places in them. On your arrival you are conducted to one of theſe apartments, and delivered the key, ſo that you are as free from interruption as if in your own houſe. Every other accommodation was equal to the firſt tavern in London. You may be ſure our ſurprize was not little, after having been accuſtomed to ſuch miſerable fare at other ordinaries, to ſee a larder diſplayed with plenty of fiſh, fowl and game. Another matter of equal ſurprize, as we had not met with ſuch a thing in all our travels, was excellent wines of all ſorts, which to us was a moſt delicious treat, not having taſted any ſince we left

Boſton;

Boſton; for notwithſtanding the ſplendor and elegance of ſeveral families we viſited in Virginia, wine was a ſtranger to their tables. For every apartment a ſervant is appointed to attend, whoſe ſole buſineſs is to wait on the company belonging to it, and who is as much your ſervant, during your ſtay, as one of your own domeſtics. The accommodation for horſes is equal, with ſervants to attend them. In ſhort, in laying out the plan of this tavern, they ſeem ſolely to have ſtudied the eaſe, comfort and convenience of travellers, and is built upon ſuch an extenſive ſcale, that it can with eaſe accommodate one hundred and ſixty perſons. General Phillips was ſo much delighted with it, that after he quitted Virginia, not being permitted to go to New York, on account of ſome military operations that were on foot in the Jerſeys, he returned back near forty miles to take up his reſidence at it, merely on account of the accommodations.

The

The landlord accompanied us to the intendant, or the head of the ſociety, who with great politeneſs ſhewed us every thing worthy of obſervation on the ſettlement.

The firſt place he conducted us to was the houſe of the ſingle women, which is a ſpacious ſtone building, divided, ſimilar to the tavern, into large chambers, which are, after the German mode, heated with ſtoves. In theſe the young women purſue various domeſtic employments, and ſome are employed in fancy and ornamental work; in all their apartments are various muſical inſtruments. The ſuperintendant of theſe young women conducted us to the apartment where they ſlept, which is a large vaulted room the whole dimenſion of the buildings, in which were beds for every woman. The women dine in a large hall, in which is a handſome organ, and the walls adorned with ſcripture pieces, painted by ſome of the

women

women who formerly belonged to the ſociety. This hall anſwers the purpoſe of a refectory and chapel: but on Sundays they attend worſhip at the great church, which is a neat and ſimple building.

The houſe of the ſingle men is upon the ſame principle as that of the women; upon the roof of which is a Belvidere, from whence you have not only a moſt delightful proſpect, but a diſtinct view of the whole ſettlement. We obſerved that the building was much defaced, which the ſuperintendant informed us was occaſioned by the Americans taking it from the young men, and converting it into an hoſpital for the ſick and wounded, after the battle of Germantown; and, added he, "it is incredible what numbers pe-"riſhed for want of proper care and at-"tention, and the hoſpital being ill ſup-"plied with drugs." Pointing to an adjoining field, he ſaid, "There lie buried

" near ſeven or eight hundred of the A-
" merican ſoldiers, who died here during
" the winter."

All manner of trades and manufactures are carried on in this place diſtinctly, and one of each branch; at theſe various occupations the young men are employed. Every one contributes his labor, and the profits ariſing from each goes to the general ſtock. Theſe young men receive no wages, but are ſupplied with all neceſſaries from the various branches of trade. They have no cares about the uſual concerns of life, and their whole time is ſpent in prayer and labor; their only relaxation being concerts, which they perform every evening.

Theſe people, who are extremely ſhrewd and ſenſible, in a manner foreſeeing the ill conſequences attending a civil war, had, before its commencement, laid in great quantities

quantities of European goods, which they ſent to their various farms interſperſed around the ſettlement.

The Moravians are not only very aſſiduous, but ingenious too. They have adopted a ſort of marriage, but from the manner of its celebration you cannot ſuppoſe that mutual tender endearments and happineſs to ſubſiſt between the parties united as with us. A young man feels an inclination to marry, which does not proceed from any object he is enamoured with, for he never ſees his wife but once before the ceremony takes place; it being contrary to the principles of their religion to ſuppoſe it is from the paſſions of nature, but merely to uphold the ſociety, that it may not ſink into oblivion. The young man communicates his inclination to their prieſt, aſking of him a girl to make his wife, who conſulting with the ſuperintendant of the young women, ſhe

produces her who is next in rotation for marriage. The prieſt preſents her to the young man, and leaves them together for an hour, when he returns. If they both conſent, they are married the next day. If there is any objection, both their caſes are very pitiable, but eſpecially the woman's, as ſhe is put at the end of the liſt, which amounts to near ſixty or ſeventy; nor does the poor girl ſtand the leaſt chance of a huſband till ſhe arrives again at the top, unleſs the man feels a ſecond inclination for marriage, for he never can obtain any other woman than the one with whom he had the firſt interview. This, I am induced to think, was the reaſon of there being ſuch a number of old women among the ſingle ones. Thus you ſee, my friend, that marriage and its inexpreſſible enjoyments, are not the reſult of the paſſions, but a mere piece of mechaniſm, ſet to work by chance and ſtopt alone by neceſſity.

When

When two parties meet and are united in marriage, a houſe is provided for them by the ſociety, of which there are great numbers around the town; very neat habitations, with pleaſant gardens. Their children of either ſex, at the age of ſix, are taken from them and placed in the two ſeminaries, conſequently they can have little affection for them. When either of the parties die; if the woman, the man returns to the apartments of the ſingle men, and if the man, the widow retires to a houſe that is built for that purpoſe.

The religion of the Moravians reſembles more that of the Lutherans than the Calviniſts; in one point it greatly differs from both, by admitting of muſic and pictures in their places of worſhip. Prayer conſtitutes almoſt a third of their employment; for excluſive of the daily public devotions in their great church, they

attend ſervice in their own chapels morning, noon and evening.

Setting aſide their ridiculous mode of entering into the marriage ſtate, and which to them is of little moment, I could not but reflect, if content was in this life they enjoy it. Far from the buſtle of a troubleſome world, living in perfect liberty, each one purſuing his own ideas and inclination, and reſiding in the moſt delightful ſituation imaginable, which is ſo healthy, that they are ſubject to few, if any diſeaſes.

As want is a ſtranger, ſo is vice. Their total ignorance of the refined elegancies of life, precludes any anxiety or regret that they poſſeſs not wealth to enjoy them. Nevertheleſs they poſſeſs what many are entire ſtrangers to, who are ſurrounded with what are termed bleſſings, thoſe

true

true and essential ones---health and tranquility of mind; and that you may ever enjoy them, though no Moravian, in a high degree of refinement, is the sincere wish of

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXXV.

Hartford, in Connecticut, Sept. 14, 1781.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THIS is deemed the capital of this province. It ſtands on the weſt ſide of the Connecticut River, and is ſituated about forty miles from the ſea-coaſt.

We were ſhewn, among other things, the following curioſities, an houſe built in the year 1640 of American oak, the timbers of which were yet ſound, and almoſt in a ſtate of petrefaction. In it was born a Jonathan Belcher, Eſq. who was

Governor

Governor of this province as well as of New Jerſey, and, by his upright adminiſtration, idolized by both ſtates. The ſecond was an elm tree, held as ſacred as ever the oak was in the days of the antient bards of our own country the druids; as this elm, in ſome time of imminent danger, concealed the charter of the province. The third was a moſt wonderful well, which being dug near ſeventy feet, without the leaſt appearance of water, the labourers met with a large rock, and on the miners boring this rock, in order to blaſt it with powder, they drove the auger through it, upon which the water ſpouted up with ſuch amazing velocity, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty, with the aſſiſtance of a number of pumps and a fire-engine they could keep the well dry till it was ſtoned, which was no ſooner accompliſhed than it filled and ran over, and has ever ſince ſupported, or rather formed,

formed, a brook, for above one hundred years.

The inhabitants of Hartford relate a ludicrous ſtory of Whitfield, who travelled America in the hopes of ſowing the ſeeds of Methodiſm upon this continent; and, from a ſermon he preached at the great meeting in this town, you may be ſure did not gain over the female part of his congregation; but was inſulted, and obliged to take ſhelter in the firſt houſe that would admit him. The text he had ſelected was, "Anoint my eyes with eye-"ſalve." After expatiating for a conſiderable length of time, to point out what was *not* the true eye-ſalve, he, in the uſual cant of thoſe fanatic preachers, ſays, "Now I'll tell you what *is* the real eye-"ſalve--it is faith--it is grace--it is ſimpli-"city---it is virtue---it is virgin's water. "But, ah Lord, where can that be found? "Perhaps not in this grand aſſembly."

At

At a place called Symſbury are ſome copper mines that are exhauſted of their ore, which are converted to a ſtate dungeon; where, formerly, ſuch offenders as the General Aſſembly did not chuſe to puniſh with death were ſent, ſhewing the humanity and mildneſs of the law; not but, in my opinion, they would have ſhewn it more conſiderably, by hanging up the unfortunate wretch: for in the courſe of a few months, after lingering out a miſerable exiſtence, the diſſolution of nature puts a period to their pain. Theſe mines were worked many years ago, the miners boring near half a mile through a mountain, making large cells that are forty yards below the ſurface. The priſoners are let down by a windlaſs into this diſmal cavern, through a hole, which anſwers the purpoſes of conveying their food and air; as to light, it ſcarcely reaches them. This place, ſince the commencement of the war, has been converted to the infamous pur-

poſe

poſe of impriſoning Loyaliſts, to make them renounce their attachment to their Sovereign, and yield obedience to Congreſs; and I am informed that numbers have been taken from their houſes, by order of the Aſſembly, and after a ſlight examination where witneſſes were eaſily procured, either through malice or intereſt, they have been hurried away to this dungeon, to drag on a ſhort period of pain and miſery, which, from the number of ſteady ſpirits who have been impriſoned and expired in it, may, with great propriety, be called the catacomb of loyalty.

There is an animal ſuppoſed to be peculiar to New England, called the cuba. This animal, as if ſenſible that his family rely on him for protection, is extremely tender of them, and never forſakes them till death diſſolves the union. What further diſplays his magnanimity is, he never indicates the leaſt anger to the

the female, though ever ſo provoked by her. What a charming leſſon from nature is this to mankind; and how happy would the rational part of the creation become, if they did but purſue the examples of irrational animals.

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER LXXVI.

New York, Sept. 25, 1781.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

NEW Haven is remarkable for having given the epithet of pumpkin-heads to the New Englanders, which arose from a severe and religious code of laws, made at the first settlement of Connecticut; which enjoin every male to have his hair cut round by a cap, and when caps were not readily at hand, they substituted the hard shell of a pumpkin, which being put on their head every Saturday, the hair was cut by it all round the head.

head. What religious virtue may be derived from this cuſtom, it is difficult to find out; certainly there is much prudence in it, for it prevents the hair from entangling, ſaves the uſe of bags and ribbons, and prevents it from incommoding the ſight by falling over the eyes. I am induced to think the cuſtom aroſe from this cauſe, that as they were ſuch enthuſiaſts in religion, and at the ſame time a lawleſs and profligate people, thoſe who had loſt their ears for hereſy, ſhould not conceal their misfortune and diſgrace.

We paſſed by a meeting that was ſituated cloſe to the ſea ſhore, which about three Sundays ſince was ſurrounded by a party from Long Iſland, at the time of divine ſervice, and the moſt notorious rebels, with the clergyman, were taken priſoners. Upon the alarm the confuſion was great, the congregation getting out

as

as fast as they could, each man taking the first horse he met with, rode away full gallop. Some of our party, having mounted other horses, riding after them. An inhabitant, who resides near the meeting, informed us that it was a ludicrous sight; some galloping off with their neighbours horses, the owner running after to stop him; others seeking refuge in an adjoining wood; women screaming, shrieking and fainting; and as no mischief arose from it, it must have been truly laughable.

Upon our arrival at King's Bridge, it is impossible to describe the emotions of joy depicted in the countenance of every one; when we had passed the barrier, we felt ourselves once more at liberty and safe out of the hands of barbarians; for so many fortuitous circumstances had taken place from the time we were made prisoners, that, notwithstanding we received an official

official accounts of our being exchanged from the commiſſary of priſoners, and obtained our paſſports, ſtill we did not conceive ourſelves altogether emancipated, till we had got within the Britiſh lines.

The iſland of New York, at King's Bridge, is joined to the continent by a ſmall wooden bridge, and the country around is very rocky and mountainous. The river, which ſeparates the iſland from the continent, is a ſafeguard againſt any ſudden invaſion of the enemy, and the works that are thrown up, which are exceedingly ſtrong, are on ſuch commanding ſituations, that an army would be cut to pieces in attempting to paſs it. This poſt is fourteen miles from the city of New York.

Our fleet is repairing after the action they have had with the French off Cheſapeak Bay, and, when in a condition, are

to ſail with a conſiderable body of troops, which Sir Henry Clinton is to command himſelf, in order, if poſſible, to ſave Lord Cornwallis's army. I cannot deſcribe the eagerneſs of both navy and army to effect it, particularly the former, who are uſing the utmoſt diligence and labor in the neceſſary repairs.

A day or two before we came here, Prince William Henry arrived from England, in the Lion of ſeventy-four guns, under the care of Admiral Digby. The Prince has been on ſhore, and viſited moſt of the places in the city and the poſts around it. He is very ſhrewd and ſenſible, making many pertinent remarks and obſervations. Not long ſince he accoſted Lieut. Bibby, of our regiment, in the following manner: "Well, Captain Bibby, "ſo you are in the Adjutant General's "office. I ſuppoſe there are handſome "perquiſites." Bibby replied, "Upon my "word,

"word, your Royal Highneſs is miſin-
"formed; for no one in that office has
"more than his bare ſalary."---"Indeed!"
exclaimed his Royal Highneſs, with ſur-
prize: "Well, well, then you ſhould par-
"take of thoſe of the Commiſſaries and
"Barrack Maſter Generals; for, let me
"tell you, they have emoluments enough
"for both."

The city of New York ſtands on the ſouthern extremity of the iſland, and its ſituation is extremely delightful; commanding ſuch a variety of proſpects, as are the moſt charming that can be conceived. The city is moſtly built upon the Eaſt River, on account of the harbour. In many of the ſtreets are rows of trees on each ſide, for ſhelter from the amazing heats in ſummer. Moſt of the houſes are built with brick, very ſtrong and neat, and ſeveral ſtories high; many of them have balconies on the roof, where company ſit

in the ſummer evenings, to enjoy the proſpect of the oppoſite ſhores and harbour; and the roofs are covered with ſhingles. The ſtreets are paved and clean, but in general very narrow; there are two or three, indeed, which are ſpacious and airy. The length of the town is ſomewhat more than a mile, and the breadth of it about half a mile. The ſituation is reckoned healthy, but ſubject to one great inconvenience, which is the want of freſh water.

There are ſeveral public buildings, tho' but few deſerving attention. There were two churches, the Old or Trinity Church, and the New one or St. George's Chapel, both very large; the former was deſtroyed by fire: by the remains it appears to have been in the Gothic taſte. The latter is built upon the model of ſome of the new churches in London, and oppoſite to it is a ſpacious ſquare, where ſtands the park of artillery. Beſides theſe two, there are

ſeveral

ſeveral other places of worſhip, conſiſting of two Low Dutch Calviniſt churches, two High, one French; meeting houſes for Lutherans, Preſbyterians, Quakers, Anabaptiſts, Moravians, and a Jews ſynagogue. There is a very handſome charity ſchool for ſixty boys and girls, a good workhouſe, barracks for a regiment of ſoldiers, and an exceeding ſtrong priſon. The courthouſe is not ſo conſiderable as might be expected for ſuch a city, and is now converted into a guard-houſe for the main guard.

The original fort was quadrangular, capable of mounting ſixty pieces of cannon, but now there are great additions. In this fort ſtands the governor's palace, and underneath the fort is a battery capable of mounting ninety-four guns, and barracks for two companies of ſoldiers. Upon a ſmall iſland, oppoſite the city, is an hoſpital for ſick and wounded ſeamen.

The North River is ſomewhat more than two miles over to Paulus Hook, where there is an exceeding ſtrong work oppoſite New York. On account of the expoſure to the north winds, and to the driving of the ice, in the winter, ſhips cannot anchor there at that ſeaſon of the year, and therefore lay up in the Eaſt River, it being the ſafeſt and beſt, though the ſmalleſt, harbour.

The ſea near New York affords great quantities of oyſters, as well as variety of other ſea fiſh. Lobſters were extremely plentiful, of an enormous ſize; but after the cannonade at Long Iſland they forſook the coaſt, and not one has been ſeen ſince. The manner they firſt came upon the coaſt is rather ſingular, for although New England abounded with them, none were ever caught here; but this city was ſupplied by the New Englanders, who brought them in great well-

boats.

boats. One of theſe boats coming thro' the Sound, and paſſing Hell Gates, a very dangerous rocky part, ſtruck and ſplit to pieces, and the lobſters eſcaped; after which they multiplied very faſt, and were caught in great abundance, till frightened away by the noiſe of the cannon.

Having mentioned a place with ſuch a tremendous name as Hell Gates, it may not be amiſs to deſcribe it, which I am enabled the more fully to do, having one afternoon, with a party, made a trip up the Sound and paſſed this dangerous ſpot. We left New York, with a fair and ſtrong breeze, near upon the height of tide, as at any other time it is impaſſable, and in about two hours paſſed through Hell Gates. It is really impoſſible to do this, without calling to mind the deſcription of Scylla and Charybdis. The breadth of the Sound at this place is about half a mile, but the channel is very nar-

row, not exceeding eighty yards. The water ruſhes with great rapidity and in various currents, only one of which will carry a veſſel through with ſafety; for on one ſide there is a ſhoal of rocks, that juſt make their appearance above the water, and on the other a dreadful vortex, produced by a rock lying about nine feet under the ſurface, which is termed the pot, and draws and ſwallows every thing that approaches it, daſhing them to pieces upon the rock at the bottom; at ſtated times of the tide this tremendous whirlpool boils furiouſly like a pot, and at others ſucks every thing into it like a funnel.

Nearly oppoſite to Hell Gates lies another reef of rocks, which, that it may bear ſome reſemblance of horror, is named the Devil's Frying Pan. The noiſe made by the water in ruſhing over them, may be compared to that of water poured upon

upon red hot iron. This alſo draws veſſels towards it, to their inevitable deſtruction.

There are exceeding ſkilful pilots to navigate through theſe dangerous ſtraits, notwithſtanding which ſhips are frequently loſt. Before the war, it was deemed an impoſſibility for a top-ſail veſſel to paſs; but ſince the commencement, fleets of tranſports, and the frigates that convoyed them, have ventured and accompliſhed it.

But what is ſtill more extraordinary, and diſplays a noble inſtance of courage and intrepidity, that gallant ſeaman, Sir James Wallace, conducted his Majeſty's ſhip the Experiment, of fifty guns, through this dreadful channel.

At the time d'Eſtaign lay off Sandy Hook with a ſuperior force, and blocked up the harbour of New York, he diſpatched

ſome

ſome ſhips of the line round the eaſt end of Long Iſland to cruize in the Sound, and to intercept any of the King's ſhips. At that time Sir James Wallace was cruizing at the mouth, and perceiving the French veſſels, ſailed back into the Sound. The French purſued, certain of the prize. Sir James ſaw his danger, and being unable to engage ſuch a ſuperior force, rather than the ſhip ſhould fall into the enemy's hands, made the bold attempt to paſs through Hell Gates; which was the wonder and aſtoniſhment not only of the French, who were obliged to return much chagrined, but of all the captains of our fleet; as it was ever deemed a raſhneſs to attempt, but was accompliſhed by an act of neceſſity.

This afternoon I went down to the beach, to ſee the whale boat ſet off with diſpatches for Lord Cornwallis's army, and you cannot conceive how elated the

crew

crew were, entertaining an idea of conveying tidings that would make them joyfully received.

As theſe are open boats, and have ſo many leagues to ſail before they reach the Cheſapeak, you muſt neceſſarily conclude the voyage to be attended with imminent danger. Their intention is to coaſt along ſhore, but may be frequently driven out of ſight of land; the laſt boat that came from Lord Cornwallis, was in that ſituation for three days. They eaſily evade being taken, as they can ſail in ſhallow water, and keep cloſe in ſhore. The boats that paſs between the two armies have little apprehenſion of being captured, except in paſſing through the French fleet at the mouth of the Cheſapeak.

Your's, &c.

LET-

LETTER LXXVI.

New York, Oct. 30, 1781.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THOUGH Long Iſland is in our poſſeſſion, ſtill towards the eaſt end there are continual ſcouting parties of the Americans, that croſs the Sound from the Connecticut ſhore, whoſe ſole buſineſs is to plunder the inhabitants, and pick up priſoners.

On croſſing the Eaſt River from New York you land at Brooklyn, which is a ſcattered village, conſiſting of a few houſes.

At

At this place is an excellent tavern, where parties are made to go and eat fiſh; the landlord of which has ſaved an immenſe fortune this war. At a ſmall diſtance from the town are ſome conſiderable heights, commanding the city of New York. On theſe is erected a ſtrong regular fort, with four baſtions. To deſcribe the works throwu up by the Americans upon this iſland, would be beſtowing more attention on the ſubject than it deſerves, as they actually cover the whole. They are not only on grounds and ſituations that are extremely advantageous and commanding, but works of great ſtrength, that I am at a loſs to account for their ſo haſtily abandoning them, as they were certain by ſuch a ſtep to give up New York. I am induced to believe, that Gen. Waſhington thought the Americans were ſo panic-ſtruck after the engagement, as our troops purſued them cloſe to their lines, that they would not ſtand an aſſault; and if

his

his lines were carried he was ſenſible there was no place of retreat, and that his army muſt inevitably have been deſtroyed.

Long Iſland is the largeſt iſland from Cape Florida to Cape Sable. It is one hundred and thirty miles in length and about fifteen miles in breadth, and from its formation derives its name. The ſouth ſide, next to the Atlantic, is low, level and ſandy, with extenſive bays within the land, near the length of the iſland; on that ſide oppoſite the continent, the lands are high, hilly and broken, but with a number of fine bays and harbours. A chain of hills runs through the middle of the iſland, the whole length of it, from which there is an extenſive view of the ocean and the adjoining continent.

The Plain is a perfect level, and what is a phænomenon in America, has not a tree growing upon it. The ſoil is ſaid to be incapable

incapable of producing trees, or any vegetation except a coarſe graſs, and a kind of bruſh-wood or ſhrub which ſeldom grows higher than four or five feet, and that only on a particular part of the plain.

The ſoil of this plain is a black earth, covered with a kind of moſs, and under the earth, which is of a ſpongy quality, is a bed of gravel, which, conſequently abſorbing the heavieſt rains, prevents the water from remaining on the ground; it therefore naturally follows, that in wet ſeaſons there is abundance of graſs, and in dry ones it is entirely parched up.

The plain ſupports great quantities of cattle, ſheep and horſes, which are ſupplied with water from the ponds made by the inhabitants in different places, and, that they may retain the rain, have clay bottoms; for what is equally as remarkable

markable as the plain itſelf, there are no ſprings or running water throughout its whole extent. This plain is of the nature of our commons in England, having no incloſures, and almoſt uninhabited, except a few public houſes for the convenience of travellers.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the anxiety of every one when the fleet left this place, in full hopes and expectation, although it had to fight its way through a much ſuperior force, it would have been the means of ſaving the gallant and brave army under Lord Cornwallis; but language is unable to deſcribe the feelings of every loyal ſubject, when the fleet returned, unable to effect ſo noble a purpoſe; for three days before the fleet made the Cheſapeak, that gallant army had ſurrendered to the combined forces of France and America.

When

When the Britiſh fleet left Sandy Hook, Gen. Waſhington had certain intelligence of it, within forty-eight hours after it ſailed, although at ſuch a conſiderable diſtance as near ſix hundred miles, by means of ſignal guns and alarms. A very notorious rebel in New York, from the top of his houſe, hung out the ſignal of a white flag, the moment the fleet got under way, which was immediately anſwered by the firing of a gun at a ſmall village about a mile from our poſt at Paulus Hook; after that a continual firing of cannon was heard on the oppoſite ſhore; and about two days after the fleet ſailed, was the period in which Gen. Waſhington was ſo preſſing for the army to ſurrender. There is a ſecreſy to be obſerved in war, neceſſary to the well-conducting of plans, and the execution of any particular meaſure that is concerted, which, being diſcloſed, all is fruſtrated. This was the caſe in the preſent inſtance: the ſailing of the

fleet, by a villain under the maſk of a Loyaliſt, was revealed to the Americans; and to ſimilar cauſes may be accounted the many fatal calamities attending our army upon this continent.

The loſs of Lord Cornwallis's army is too heavy a blow to be ſoon or eaſily recovered; it evidently muſt change the face of affairs: for the war which commenced in this country, and ought to have been maintained in the offenſive, muſt now degenerate into a diſhonorable defenſive; and if Great Britain is determined to overcome the Colonies, ſhe muſt ſend out a very numerous reinforcement in the ſpring, or the ſurrender of Lord Cornwallis may be conſidered as the cloſing ſcene of the whole continental war in America.

I have taken my paſſage in the Swallow Packet, which the latter end of the week ſails for England. I preferred coming home

home in the packet rather than a tranſport, not only as it is a better ſailing veſſel, and having more hands is in leſs danger of being captured; but the tranſports in general are ſo exceedingly crazy, and their bottoms ſo very bad, owing to their laying up ſuch a length of time in rivers, that they are unable to withſtand the boiſterous winds and waves of a winter's paſſage.

As this is the laſt letter you'll receive from me in America, permit me, before I bid a final farewel to it, to make ſome few reflections on this unfortunate conteſt.

Although America, through France and her naval power, may gain independence, ſhe will find in what an aukward predicament ſhe has involved herſelf, and how convulſed the provinces muſt be for a

length of years. As a new ſtate ſhe muſt maintain or eſtabliſh her public character, and is bound, by every tie of policy, not to deſert her allies.

Alas, deluded Americans! When too late, you'll repent your raſhneſs. Let me impartially aſk the moſt ſenſible among them, When the Independency is eſtabliſhed, will they poſſeſs that freedom and liberty as under the Engliſh government? If their anſwer is impartial, they muſt declare, Certainly we ſhall not; but in a few years *perhaps* we may. That period, I am afraid, is at a great diſtance.

Much, indeed, are they entangled in the cabals of a French court, which will, ſooner or later, not only endeavour to enſlave them in reality, but diſpoſſeſs them of their ſouthern provinces. It is not without juſt grounds I aſſert that e'er half a century elapſes,

America

America will be ſuing that protection from the mother country, which ſhe has ſo ungratefully deſpiſed, to ſcreen her from the perſecutions and tyranny of France. They are conſcious of being happy before this unfortunate revolution, and will feel that they are no longer ſo; they muſt inevitably regret the change in ſullen ſilence, or, if they have any thing like ſpirit left, rouze into arms again.

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXXVIII.

On board the Swallow Packet, St. Mary's Harbour, in the Iſlands of Scilly, Dec. 8, 1781.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

ON the day after our arrival here, Lord Dalrymple, who had the charge of Sir Henry Clinton's diſpatches, apprehenſive that the packet might be detained for a conſiderable time by contrary winds, and anxious to deliver diſpatches of ſo much importance to the nation, hired a ſmall fiſhing boat, and, notwithſtanding it blew a hard gale, regardleſs of the imminent dangers of the ſeas and ſurrounding enemies, ſo much had he the public ſervice

ſervice at heart, that, nobly braving them, he, at the utmoſt riſk of his life, ſet ſail in it from this place, accompanied by the Earl of Lincoln, who was a paſſenger on board the packet. From a lofty eminence we ſaw the boat leave theſe iſlands, while the ſea ran ſo tremendous high, that it was thought by every one they never could reach the Engliſh coaſt.

Strangers who land here, are conducted to the ſpot where the body of that famous Admiral Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was found, after his ſhipwreck in the year 1707. It was in a ſmall cove called Portheliſk near what is termed the Tolmens; and it is handed down by tradition that he was diſcovered naked, and only diſtinguiſhed from the moſt ordinary ſailor under his command, by having round his neck a portrait of his royal miſtreſs, on the reverſe of which was engraved his name.

A ſand-bank offering itſelf very opportunely, as if for the very purpoſe, he was interred under it. Whoever has ſeen the place, will allow it would have been doubly inhuman not to have buried him, whoever he was. For my own part, it recalled to my mind the argument that Archytas makes uſe of to beſpeak the like friendly office.

> At tu nauta, vagæ ne parce malignus arenæ,
> Oſſibus & capiti inhumato,
> Particulam dare.
>
> HOR. Od. xxviii. lib. 1.

Hiſtory informs us, that the body of this great man was afterwards taken up, and conveyed to Weſtminſter abbey. A ſmall pit on this ſandy green, is ſtill viſible.

> Pulveris exigui parva munera. Ibid.

Theſe iſlands are of great utility in time of war, as they afford protection to trading

ing veſſels and homeward-bound ſhips, which would by contrary winds, without this refuge, be obliged to beat about in the Channel, expoſed to the danger of being captured by the enemy.

The not eſtabliſhing a packet between theſe iſlands and the main, is an inconvenience to be lamented and a ground for cenſure. I am confident it would bring in a great revenue; for, during our ſtay, a packet of letters was given to the Captain of our ſhip, nearly as large as that he has brought from New York. You would ſcarcely believe it, but they have been ſeventeen weeks without any intercourſe with the country. Such an intermiſſion of correſpondence muſt be extremely detrimental to trade. A ſmall ſhip of about forty tons, to paſs and repaſs as the weather permitted, would, by freight and trade, not only repay expences, but be a handſome income to the owners.

The

The utility of a frigate being ſtationed here, was noticed to me by ſeveral of the inhabitants; for, during this war, a French cutter came into the harbour, with a view to cut away the ſhips at anchor; but a frigate happening to be there at that time, the cutter ſheered off, and no other has ſince made its appearance; which muſt ariſe from the idea that a frigate is actually ſtationed in theſe iſlands.

The wind coming favorable, the Captain has deſired the paſſengers to repair on board.

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER LXXIX.

Falmouth, Dec. 15, 1781.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YESTERDAY afternoon we left Scilly Iſlands, and arrived at this place about one o'clock this morning. On going aſhore, deſcription would fall exceedingly ſhort of the tranſports I felt on ſetting my foot once more on my native land.

We here learnt, that after a very dangerous paſſage, and being nearly captured by a French cutter, Earl Lincoln and Lord Dalrymple arrived ſafe at Penzance, and a few

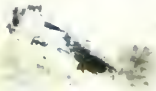
days ago paſſed through this place for town.

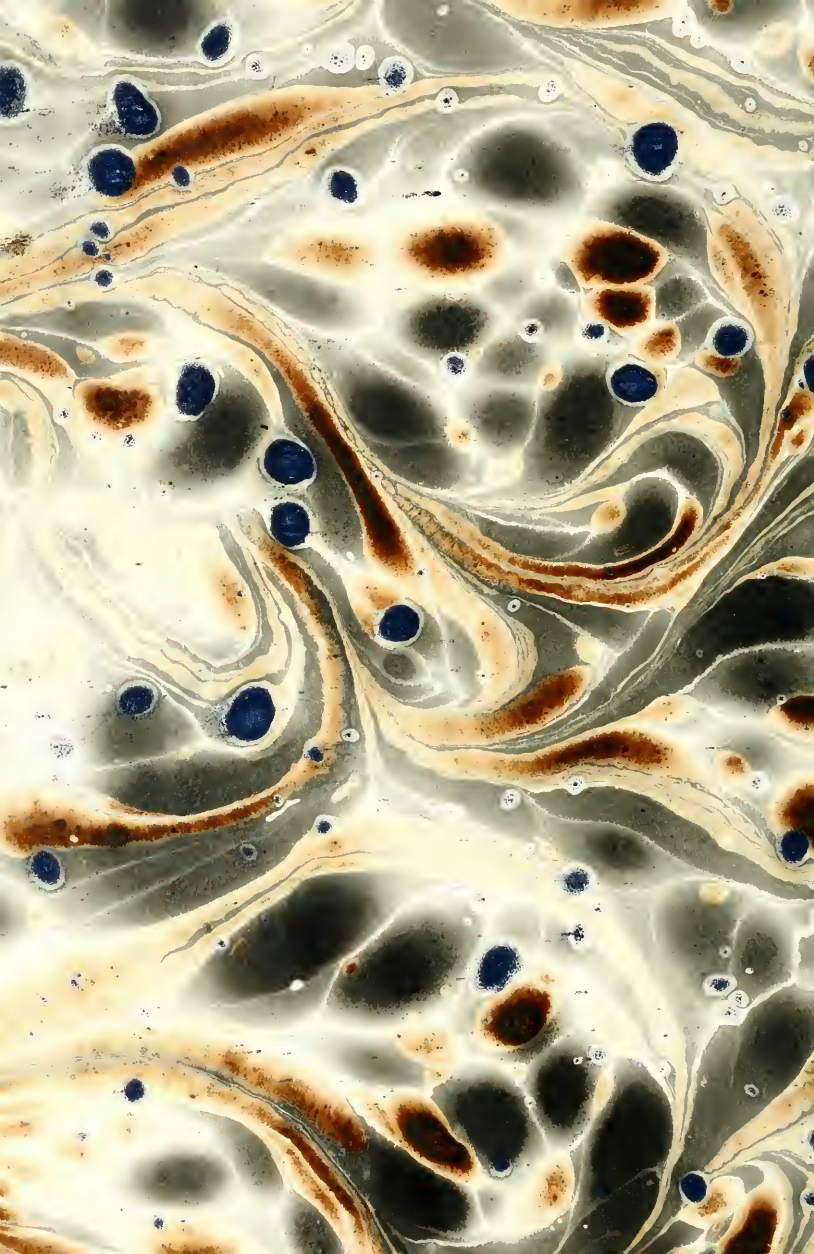
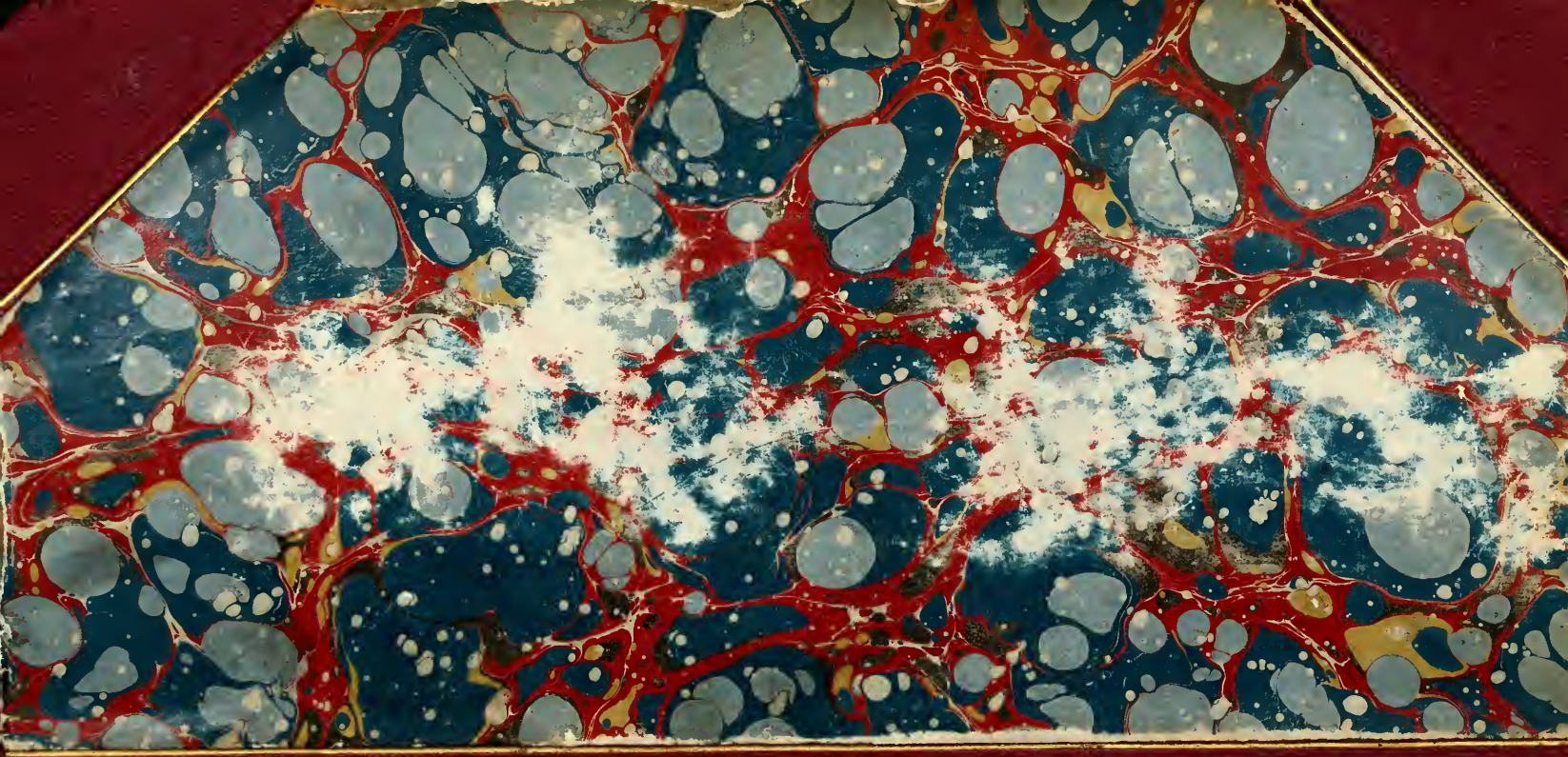
The former of theſe noblemen received a ſhock that muſt have ſunk deep indeed. While they were changing horſes, a hearſe was ſetting off from the ſame inn for London; and on his Lordſhip's enquiry concerning it, he was told it was a corpſe that had arrived a few days ſince in the Liſbon packet. His curioſity and his fears were awakened. It was the corpſe of his brother, Lord John Pelham Clinton, who, a few months ſince, had gone over to Liſbon for the recovery of his health. A brother whom he panted to meet with---whoſe affection was his joy and his pride. Thus are our proudeſt hopes, like a tower, propt but by a broken reed, which is ever ready to break! Your own feelings can better expreſs the ſituation of his heart, on receiving the melancholy

melancholy information than my pen is able to deſcribe.

It is remarkable on the very day before we put into Scilly Iſlands, while we were in purſuit of the ſhip a-head of us, he expreſſed vaſt anxiety about his brother, as he had not had letters from him for ſome months, adding, with a gloomineſs, that he hoped he ſhould have ſome accounts by the next packet. The ſhip then in ſight proved to be the Liſbon Packet, which had his brother's dead body on board.

Having fully complied with your requeſt, on my leaving England, of embracing every opportunity to let you hear from me, and as this will be the laſt of our literary correſpondence, permit me, before I conclude, to apologize for any inaccuracies of expreſſion, and every little fault





This book was rebacked using the original boards. Canapetta bookcloth was used on the spine and corners and marbled paper was used for the endsheets. Bugra paper was used as a buffer between the endsheets and textblock. May 2001